

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. statement	re: Draft President William Jefferson Clinton remarks to the Council of the Americas annual conference (5 pages)	04/30/2000	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Thomas Rosshirt)
OA/Box Number: 4021

FOLDER TITLE:

America Council [2]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0703-F
jm618

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Rosshirt
Saturday 2:05 pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS ANNUAL CONFERENCE
MAY 2, 2000

Buddy, thank you for that generous introduction. And thank you for your tireless efforts to advance our relations in this hemisphere. Buddy has been on the job for just over a year. He hit the ground running, and I am so glad I ~~got him to agree~~ to take on this job because the work demands someone of his caliber.

he agreed

David Rockefeller, I want to thank you for taking the lead thirty-five years ago in establishing the Council of the Americas. At a time when our country was consumed in an ideological struggle between East and West; you had the vision to see North and South, and to make the case that free trade could be a force for peace, prosperity and partnership right here in this hemisphere.

You were out ahead of history. In promoting the benefits of open markets and economic integration, you anticipated the era of globalization before the world had a word for it. In part because of the work of this Council and other like-minded leaders, America is better poised than any other country to reap the rewards of the global age.

Of course, the future didn't look quite so bright when we came into office. Seven years ago, we were struggling out of a triple dip recession; we faced record deficits far out into future; our friends and allies were rightly lecturing us on the need to get our economic house in order, and hinting they might go their own way on security matters. Conventional wisdom claimed the United States was, as TIME Magazine put it, in irreversible decline as the world's premier power."

too partisan for this audience - was "I saved the world" from collapse" + ore

Thankfully, we proved them wrong. Seven years later, we have 21 million new jobs; the fastest economic growth in more than 30 years; the lowest poverty rates in 20 years; the first back-to-back budget surpluses in 42 years, and the longest period of economic growth in American history. We are the world's leading force for peace and freedom and prosperity; our values of democracy and open markets are ascendant in most of the world.

As you know, we owe much of our success to the progress of this Hemisphere and to our engagement within it. We knew from the start that with 96% of the world's customers outside our borders, our economic growth would depend on trade, and that meant first and foremost, more trade with the Americas. Not solely for its economic benefits to the United States, but for its ability to advance prosperity and partnership in our own neighborhood.

d'Id they offer idea.

So we worked hard to win over the American people to the promise of free trade. We worked hard in Congress to pass NAFTA. And since NAFTA has entered into force, U.S. exports to Canada and Mexico have jumped 78%, U.S. employment has skyrocketed, Canada's

over the past 7 years had a period of growth and prosperity

because in so small a period of growth and prosperity in general of world in particular Hemisphere

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPIED

employment has jumped by more than one million overall, and Mexico's employment has climbed one million from NAFTA alone.

The success of NAFTA set the stage for much that followed. During the Mexican financial crisis in 1995, we offered a loan package that wasn't too popular at the time. But the evidence is powerful that it was the right thing to do. Mexico recovered and it paid back the loans with interest and ahead of schedule. Three years later, the entire Hemisphere was jolted by the Asian financial crisis. We kept our markets open, and I believe our choice for more trade, not less, contributed to the recovery that is benefiting us all. *our*

Right now, we are making progress in moving the Caribbean Basin Initiative through Congress. This bill will encourage economic development in the region by enhancing preferential trade access to U.S. markets. It will have little impact on our economy but an immense impact on those of our neighbors. I hope to see that bill on my desk by the end of the month. For there is no hope for raising living standards in this region if poor nations cannot sell their products to rich nations. *sounds like we are belittling Caribbean*

We *prosper* are also determined to meet the goal we set at the Miami Summit of the Americas and achieve a Free Trade Area of the Americas by 2005. This will be the world's largest free trade zone — a thriving market of 800 million people invested in each other's future, enriching each other's lives, advancing one another's interests. *must stay on track and*

Right now, negotiators are on schedule to complete and *must stay on track and* present to the Trade Ministers next April in Argentina a draft agreement. It will also be presented to the Heads of State at the next Summit of the Americas in Quebec, also in April. We ~~are on track~~ complete our work by 2005, and I am confident we will do so. *our*

Of course, you have pushed out ahead of us. Ordinarily an explosion of trade follows a free trade agreement. In this case, the rise in trade anticipates that agreement. Right now, 44% of U.S. exports go to the Americas. By 2010, U.S. trade with Americas will exceed total trade with Europe and Asia combined. Traditionally, Americans have seen our security interests along an arc from East to West. The trade you are advancing ensures that we will have strong economic interests along an axis from North to South. *give impetus to*

That increased trade will create a constituency in each country for open business practices in every other country. And that will ~~force~~ economic reforms that no nation can resist if it hopes to lift the lives of its people. The reforms will be difficult, but the returns ~~can't be beat~~. And that is why trade is creating a common platform of open practices and democratic principles throughout the Americas. *at the core of* *are enormous.*

But this is more than a one-way street. Just as free trade and economic integration advances democracy, it is democracy that creates the conditions for free trade to flourish. That is the only reason we were ever able to agree to create a Free Trade Area of the Americas. Because 34 out of 35 nations in the Americas elect their own leaders — and that last one will not be denied forever.

All across the Americas, millions of peoples are coming of age with the expectation that they will choose their leaders, chart their futures, and shape their own destinies. We have built an unshakable consensus that in this hemisphere the people rule. And our leaders shall come to power by force of law — not by force of arms or aggression. *little arcane*

We ^{upheld} ~~affirmed~~ that principle in Haiti. As brutal thugs made life intolerable, and forced thousands to flee, nations across the Americas joined a UN-sponsored effort to restore a democracy that had been stolen by military force. Haiti is still desperately poor, and wracked with problems. But ~~it has held fast to the hope of democracy.~~ And our collective action there established the principle that nations in this region will not only abide by democratic principles, but will defend them and advance them.

We acted again on this principle when we stood with the people of Paraguay to preserve democracy when it was threatened there in 1996. We turned up international pressure in Ecuador earlier this year, and we did it again last month in Peru.

*is ARTHUR
OK w/
this
frank too
a description?*

Today, we must stand up again for a democracy under attack — not at the hands of its government, but at the hands of forces that government and people are trying to fight. In Colombia, drug traffickers breed corruption, feed violence, finance civil war, curb honest enterprise, and undermine public confidence in democracy. By rushing their horrible harvest to our cities and suburbs — to our children — they also threaten our security.

In the United States, ninety percent of the cocaine and two-thirds of the heroin seized on the streets comes from Colombia or through Colombia. Fifty-two thousand Americans die every year from drugs, almost as many as died in Vietnam or Korea. And drugs cost us more than \$110 billion a year in crime, accidents, property damage, and lost productivity.

In Colombia, drugs feed a cycle of violence that has led to more than 2,500 kidnappings a year, a murder rate ten times ours, and terrorist activity that is the worst in the world. Drugs finance a civil war that has left more than 35,000 dead and made a million people homeless in the past decade alone. As drugs fund guerrillas on the left and paramilitaries on the right, honest citizens are caught in the middle. Eight hundred to nine hundred passports are issued every day as engineers, architects, and doctors take their families, their wealth, and their talents out of Colombia.

And yet, thousands upon thousands of courageous Colombians ^{have chosen} ~~choose~~ to stay and fight. President Andres Pastrana came into office with a record of risking his life to take on the drug traffickers. He was kidnapped by the Medellin cartel in 1988. As mayor of Bogota, he saw them kill three Presidential candidates, then he became a presidential candidate.

A few days after his election, he went into the jungle for a face to face meeting with a notorious guerrilla leader. A few days after his inauguration, he replaced the entire military high command with generals considered honest, effective and committed to protecting human rights. That kind of courage may explain why he was elected President with the largest number of votes in his country's history.

Once in office, President Pastrana worked with experts in Colombia and elsewhere to put together "Plan Colombia" — a fourfold plan to seek peace, fight drugs, build the economy, and deepen democracy. The cost of the plan comes to \$7.5 billion. His government is putting up \$4 billion. International Financial Institutions are putting up \$1 billion. I am asking Congress for \$1.6 billion over two years. *[is that credible any more?]*

a tenfold [ch] increase in US
This will include funds to promote good governance, judicial reform, and human rights protection. It will also enable Colombia's counter-drug program to destroy drug production efforts in the southern areas of the country where narcotraffickers operate under guerrilla and paramilitary protection.

and economic development [ch]
We know we can do this. ~~We have forced reductions of more than 50% in coca cultivation in Peru and Bolivia over the last five years, as we reduced overall cocaine production in the region by 18%. Drug traffickers, driven from their old havens, have made the strategic mistake of consolidating the drug industry in Colombia. That is why, right now — with full engagement of every government in the region — we have an historic opportunity to do serious and lasting damage to the international drug trade....if Congress approves this package.~~ *by more than 50%*

little more progress since they're doing really well!
~~Because to seize this moment, we need to help Colombia increase its counter-drug capabilities. We need to train and equip its counter-drug battalions, enhance its drug interdiction efforts, and provide intelligence and logistics support to the counter-drug mission, including force protection. They cannot do it without us. We cannot do it without them.~~ *Working with the parts of Peru and Bolivia over the past few years we have reduced*

help
~~This is about more than fighting drugs — as important as that is. It is about defending democracy. We must not stand by and allow a democracy elected by its people, defended at enormous cost by its people, to be undermined and overwhelmed by thugs. That is a first principle. It adds to the urgency that the drugs these outlaws sell threaten our security as well. And the fact that the guerrillas fund their war against democracy with drug money earned on America's streets — that adds a special responsibility to support Colombia's efforts.~~ *also*

really do under emergency government, his book says
I urge Congress to pass this package now. The Colombians waging this anti-drug campaign are fighting not just for themselves; they are fighting for us. They are fighting for our kids. If Colombians are willing to bear the risk, we should be willing to bear some of the cost.

stop
In closing, I want to point out that — for all its opportunities, the global age will ~~also~~ bring us challenges that all nations face together and no nation can solve on its own. Our efforts to fight terrorism, drugs, corruption, disease all depend on the quality of cooperation we get from our partners -- and the quality of that cooperation depends on the growth of their economies and the strength of their democracies. If we take advantage of every opportunity to act together to defend our common interests, we can all advance our prosperity and security together. *and give to*

I want to thank this group again for your commitment to free trade, open markets, private enterprise, and for ~~talking about how they can advance our democracy and national security. I've noted before that with all the prosperity that trade has brought us in the last decade, there is now a stronger constituency against trade than there was when I took office.~~ *expanding the dialogue on*

~~That is partly in the nature of globalization itself.~~ Those who benefit from global change sometimes don't know who they are, while those who are threatened by it know exactly who they are.

That's why showing the American people the connection between our ~~policy~~ and their prosperity represents a vital public mission for America's leaders over the next decade. It is a mission you have championed for thirty-five years. It is a mission I hope you embrace for the next thirty-five. Thank you for your vision. Thank you for putting it to work in the service of our country.

own
engagement
with the
world

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	To Thomas M. Rosshirt from Brooke D. Anderson. Subject: Armed Forces farewell speech (1 page)	01/03/2001	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Thomas Rosshirt)
OA/Box Number: 4020

FOLDER TITLE:

Armed Forces Appreciation

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0703-F
jm619

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Rosshirt, Thomas M. (SPCHW)

From: Anderson, Brooke D. (NSCCOMM)
Sent: Wednesday, January 03, 2001 9:00 AM
To: Rosshirt, Thomas M. (SPCHW)
Subject: FW: Armed Forces Farewell Speech [UNCLASSIFIED]

i made a few changes. feel free to ignore. i don't think the ending works -- him hoping the servicemembers go back to where they served and then come back home? ? ? I think the idea works -- understand what they have done abroad and how that impacts us here at home.

my other more general concern is that speech might reinforce the very wrong perception that we use/view the military's missions as humanitarian...

-----Original Message-----

From: Rosshirt, Thomas M. (SPCHW)
Sent: Tuesday, January 02, 2001 11:23 PM
To: @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters; @DEFENSE - Defense Policy; @NSCComm; @MULTILAT - Multilateral and Humanitarian Affairs
Subject: Armed Forces Farewell Speech [UNCLASSIFIED]



Fort Myer draft Tue 11
pm.doc

SRB expressed concern about the length of the last draft. This draft, after my cuts, is nearly 450 words shorter. Hans and Eric: my personal view -- now that I've gone over it carefully -- is that mention of the ICC Treaty would be out of place.

Please get back to me with edits, changes, or factchecks. I want to run it by DK and SRB one more time.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Phone No. (Partial); Personal (Partial) (3 pages)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
002. email	To Robert Rosen from Lisel Loy. Subject: Citation in speech (2 pages)	11/10/2000	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Thomas Rosshirt)
OA/Box Number: 4020

FOLDER TITLE:

Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation / Vietnam Trip [1]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0703-F
jm176

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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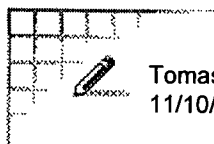
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

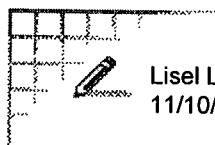


Tomasz P. Malinowski
11/10/2000 06:33:33 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Thomas M. Rosshirt/NSC/EOP@EOP
cc:
Subject: Re: citation for pete peterson

----- Forwarded by Tomasz P. Malinowski/NSC/EOP on 11/10/2000 06:35 PM -----



Lisel Loy
11/10/2000 06:31:07 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Robert Rosen/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc: cynthia l. gire/nsc/eop@eop, Tomasz P. Malinowski/NSC/EOP@EOP
bcc:
Subject: Re: citation for pete peterson

if we do it that way, just need a mike, off-stage, for milaide to read into. Remarks should include reference to milaide -- i.e., "commander, please read the citation" -- can you identify who the milaide will be -- and his correct title. also, may want a small table for medal box to be displayed on. potus will hand medal to ambassador. since there's only one, could put on podium for potus to handle. if use a table, should be v. small so small medal box doesn't look silly. Once you id milaide, i'll take care of getting text of citation to him/her.

only other consideration is whether this creates any awkwardness for Kerrey if he's on stage; citation refers to ambassador's military service, among other things. I'm confirming whether Kerrey has received any WH recognition/medal. Don't believe so but need to double check. Also, milaide, etc., will lend a certain formality to it which we should just consider; may be good, may not. just wanted you to consider in light of flavor of the event.

Robert Rosen



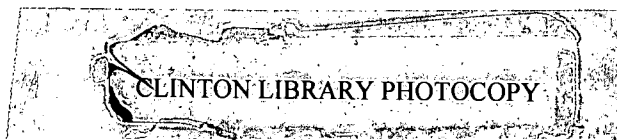
Robert Rosen


11/10/2000 06:21:37 PM



Record Type: Record

To: Cynthia L. Gire/NSC/EOP@EOP
cc: Lisel Loy/WHO/EOP@EOP



Subject: Re: citation for pete peterson 

On second thought I agree with the proposal...using the Mil Aide will work quite well

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Personal (Partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P3/b(3)
002. note	re: Vietnam speech (1 page)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Thomas Rosshirt)
OA/Box Number: 4020

FOLDER TITLE:

Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation / Vietnam Trip [2]

Jamie Mettrailer

2008-0703-F

jm177

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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Larry Greer

703602 1245

602 2102 x 169

(Nov 11 -)

~~George~~ Bush's
policy

heartless

In George Bush's
when children

~~B~~

First thing first -

Texas children
deserve a health ins.

governor who has a heart

We need govt w/ a heart

It's a day past Halloween -
take off the costumes

when children

when asthmatic

children get no relief for

smog + no help w/
health insurance

Juli -

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. notes	re: World Economic Forum speech in Davos; Phone No. (Partial) [page 10] (14 pages)	01/00/99	P5, P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Thomas Rosshirt)
OA/Box Number: 4020

FOLDER TITLE:

Davos

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0703-F
jm178

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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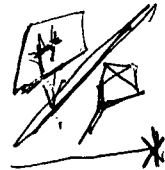
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



Notes for Jan 99

Carlos salinas -- that's where NAFTA was born. May seem grand, but that's our view. Most of what's in the chronology --- 11 years at the forum. You can take most of that at face value.

90% of the people were there the year before. 80% were there three or more years before. It is a membership organization. 100 0coropoate members. The Global 1000. If it were Fortune 1000 it would be all american.

We want the top ten companies in Turkey, Indonesia. Fifty percent of the audience is European. 25 % american 25 % rest of world.

The membership is by invitation. Membership list is impressive. Basically we're in good shape. We have to be strict about who we can -- we have maxed out, not a spare room. We can't grow anymore.

Klaus feels strongly, if a Jack Welch comes back and spends 4 or 5 days in Davos every yeras, there is a value they get out of Davos. In today's world, that has to be a commercial value. Bottom line counts. Clearly their company benefits by their presence here. Coming to Davos suggests they are buying into the motivaiton that keeps us going. There is a role for an organizaiton that can bring together very disparate parts of society. Govenrmen5 private sector. Academics. All sorts of issues are covered. I've described it as the ultimate trickle down organisation. Can't ge thigher level participation. You have to assume that by taking part literally millions being spent getting peope there. That something good is coming totehr than saying I was at Davos. If ABB sits down and cuts a deal wiht gov't of Ghana and 1200 jobs will be created that that is good.

If these folks keep on coming back -- that is the reason. . It is commercially worthwhile for a business exec. To be here. Intellecually worthwhile as well. You're buying in to the notoin that Davos makes a difference. WE believe that we have influenced debates on various issues.

Three years ago --

We know of a lot of business deals that were launched here, there were a lot we don't know. We don't necessarily know specifically. Politically take your pick of accomplishments. The Greece and Turkey thing ten years ago. At the time they were about to go to war. It was declaration of Davos defused things.

I think the whole relaitonship with South Africa. The forum can be proud of its accomplishments in south africa. As independent organization we could do wht aothers could not.

Intellectual ancestors: the primary for society and the world to improve different parts of that society needs to talk to each other. If anything --

science, academic, gov't, private sector all come together from different areas of the globe. There is more than just economics you want to touch on. The nexus, three or four very important elements. The sectors at Davos need to come together and hear what others are talking about.

Driving mission statement -- (arts and culture is now part of the sectors included.) Media.

We include media in the equation. We wouldn't have 5-600 media people in Davos if we were trying to do something secret. Media moved forward the debate on globalization. Media transmits what happens in Davos.

John Sweeney -- his counterparts from around the world are there. Labor is represented, if forum can be faulted for something, -- not having civil society represented enough. There is more of a role. We are improving every year. It's hard when you have 1000 CEOs to balance it out. Different elements must be heard.

Schwab -- his reason for gathering executives here (1968 -- Le Defi Americain) the american challenge. Thesis -- US corporations are going to move in and take over Europe. Klaus -- young German Academic. Got together european CEOs to discuss this. But at the beginning, it was europe saying how do we develop our own business ethos in response to US challenge. Written by a French member of Parliament Jean Servan-Schreiber.

That's what prompted this 1971 meeting. Grew to what it is right now. Forum got a real boost with the fall of the Berlin Wall. Before that -- we would put to rest the Davos agenda six to eight months beforehand. Suddenly, there were 50 60 70 more countries on the world stage, and all these countries began coming to Davos. A lot of countries began coming. (Third world trade fair). Davos help accelerate that push of globalization.

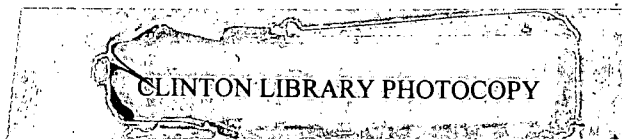
No questions Klaus -- when you're talking about creators. Basically Klaus is the driving force. He is a committed europeanist. Does he have a picture of Jean Monnet in his office? No.

Klaus says as a kid, he was living in between Switz and Germany, he had permission to go in between, and he says -- you go to Swiss, though things were rationed, there was peace. Germany, there was violence and war. And weirdness. His time at K school taught him gov't has hugely important. But not unique role to play in society. Private sector is as much a drive as public sector to improve our lot.

First Lady -- one of most successful speeches I've heard. First of all -- gifted speaker. Partly because she said -- look you guys, you need to spend more time with micro credit, investing in women and children, She convincingly ventured into areas that are not often enough tackled in Davos. Inf they are, small breakout sessions.

I would urge you to dare step out a little bit. With what you're doing. You may want to call one or two media people. Ask them. What do you think would be well received.

Shimon Peres -- always successful. He can speak with such heart and force. This is a



business audience. They truly are no nonsense. I have seen people not quite get booed, but close to it. There's a spirit that this is not a typical venue. You're going to do things a little bit different. People don't -- want blah blah. Can't underscore it enough. Not song and dance. What would be expected are platitudes. That will fail badly. There is some sense of an American attitude. Maybe one quarter of the audience in American. There's very very senior people with lots of questions. Moving speech from Thursday to Friday. Don't know, depends on who gets displaced. To accommodate this, we had to boot heads of state out of sessions we had confirmed for some time. Who do these Americans think they are. A background piece that has to be kept in mind.

Displaced. Either Chretien, Poland or Mandela. Mandela had already been bumped one day to accommodate Rubin.

The danger would be at the end. Of tawney minties. Length -- very important. I would get nervous if it went beyond twenty minutes. At Davos, you privilege questions and answer. If you're really into it. Look at first lady's q and a. Klaus been moderating sessions for 25 years. Certain German and somewhat formal side to him. It is the most expert. Moderator we have ever seen. He is advocate of business community when he moderates. We take our cue from business. We are business drive. I remember Mandela first time in Davos. He went on 43 minutes. Klaus cut him off, and they had a sparring match on stage. Klaus. Not you went over 17 minutes and thirty seconds and all the CEOs clapped.

Platitudes. If he gets up and says predictable, safe, ____ he'll get panned. What areas would you feel stepping out a little bit. Is there a major new initiative. Go soft on "we're the greatest."

Q and A: Questions are written, submitted by participants. VP would stand at podium.

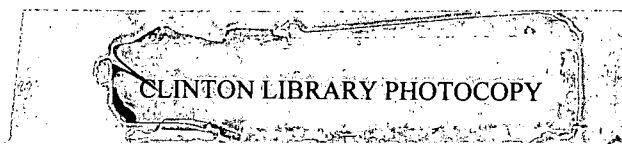
a series of written questions, passed up, vetted, Klaus will read them, sometimes combine them. One of the reasons people love Klaus as moderator, he asks questions that are daring. Not to put him on the spot -- twenty years from now, what are the three greatest things you will have accomplished. Nine times of ten he hits a home run.

like hearings, you can read your statement, but you're really here to answer our questions. In Davos, you have 92 percent of global IT industry present. At the CEO level. These are smart, successful. These are bright, bright, folks. Very sophisticated audience.

Badge access. Part of the reason for Davos, not the UN. Conceptually, when you picture the stage. Picture the UNGA, then picture the opposite, that's what we want Davos to be -- as informal as you can be. We want it to be as unscripted as a UN participation is scripted.

Audience you have to take that

The attitude of Davos. If you are Schremp -- these are guys who feel entitled, that they



should be able to go up to the VP, introduce themselves directly without going through CoS. If that's the way VP comes to Davos. It will be very difficult for his presence to be a homerun. You want him to appear to be accessible.

William Safire. First time he came to Davos. Extraordinary place in session of future of Russia. Turned to introduce myself. Hi, I'm Carl Bildt, Prime Minister of Sweden. Davos, approachability. Fit that into your speech.

He wanted to get a feel for what was happening in the conference. Think it was a bad move Thursday was a better shot. First lady was Monday. She could get the mood. VP couldn't get any mood read. I do believe the more he is seen wandering around, chatting, sitting in a session, by far the higher marks. People will say -- these is a guy who's not imperial.

Q and a matters more than how he does in the speech. There is a Davos spirit or philosophy that cannot be overplayed here. Opposite of UN. Leaving some wiggle room would be appropriate. Bill Weld was here a few years ago. Made references to the rolling stones. It fell flat. Approachable yes, artificial hominess no. You're up against the challenge of the culture. Three-fourths not American might not catch the references.

Malaysia. I think that will be on the mind of a lot of people. Everyone in Davos will have that in their mind. Unlike in States, where people forget that. Overseas, Malaysia will be fresh in people's minds. A reference to Malaysia. Him making a reference. -- Many people were upset at me for saying this -- that would be very Davos. Honest, forthright.

What's respectful here. "Megaphone diplomacy." he gets very high marks for being honest and open.

Almost if you're in a small room, speaking off the record. We have never had a teleprompter in Davos. People have never seen one here before. That's not Davos. That's a barrier. Whoa, we've never seen.

First time US Treasury Secretary. And subcabinet. --- Kohl -- had an amazing impact in open plenary session. Six months into Asia crisis. There was jitteriness. Kohl gave an upbeat optimistic speech that set the tone. People were very impressed with his ability to have a positive message.

Italy -- all the European countries have been regulars for Head of government. Russia PM almost every year last five or eight years. If you did not do some press.

Not meeting in a roundtable with top top media leaders would be a mistake. Word would get around if there was some no press policy.

The American role --- should be there. There is love/hate with US. Admiration but there is also questioning of American power. So somewhere in there, what the US intends to do.



To the extent you want to play into Davos. The Forum would feel -- biological warfare, loose nukes, that Davos has played a role in pursuing those debates over the years.

Most of Davos is 15 or 20 people sitting around lunch or dinner.

Not pure economics. Make a plug for the forum. We have been pretty crucial in moving forward the debate and putting on the global agenda a lot of the topics you mention. Even the backlash of globalization. Mobilizing power of Davos in changing public opinion. Is tremendous. I'm saying -- issues you mention Davos has played an important role.

Gardner Forum had not invited them back this year. 95% are academics. Dick Gardner -- was sec'y of ed under Johnson. Amb to Spain. I told in my first meeting with your colleagues. Do not listen to Dick Gardner. He's more trouble than help.

Dan Spiegel former Amb to Geneva. Known Davos for a while. Now at Akin Gump 887 4137. Daniel Spiegel. He was involved in switching schedule. Knows Davos, etc.

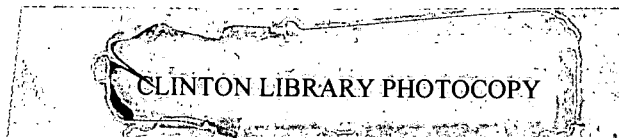
Howard Berman -- He's been there the last four or five years. Cong. CA. He's good pals with Spiegel. Private Sector opinion.

(Don't stick just with dry economics)

don't underestimate the impact of the speech. Key issue is that he is spending enough time to make an overall impression. Thurs through Sat. Spending a good chunk of time. What he does outside the set things. I have some ideas.

Speech is very important. Very large press corps. Business people. English-speaking press. Journal FT all have Davos pages. He will be early enough. Opening speech/evening -- is going to be Ruth Dreifuss, presi of Switzerland. Then German President Herzog.

Won't be news made before Gore speaks. He won't be evening opening. He will be opening Davos. A lot of people there from the Business community. His speech is important and set tone.



Most unsuccessful speeches in Davos: right after republican resurgence in 94. In 95 they had Bennett, he gave his view of ethics and morality in the American context, and it was like he was speaking at a Las Vegas convention. It was horrible, totally American centered. It was a disaster for the forum because they picked him. It wasn't interesting to the intl business community that was there. He delivered with jokes people didn't understand. The sophisticated intl audience -- didn't agree with his view of morality.

This is not a place where great speeches have been digtve. Who you are is important. Kohl has given impressive speeches about future of Europe. Because he was Kohl it was important. When a Chinese. It's often a surprise when a Chinese leader is there and appears entrepreneurial it's a bit hit. Ziganov big deal for appearing.

Clinton and Gorbachev are known not to speak beyond their audience because of who they are. I would avoid that here. Don't forget the people in the room. You can't -- POTUS chooses location and venue and speaks about something else.

People who drone on -- who read -- who lose themselves in their speeches. Too many statistics and just get into the minutia and have their head in the text do a poor job. No more notable failures than Bennett.

Length -- he has from 11 to 11:45. Length of the speech. I think max 25 minutes.

Objective: He is seen by intl business community as a man who could be president. Speaking to large numbers of business people -- intl business people. His audience will be business participants. Not so much heads of state. These are global business people

Gore has to be visionary. And practical and the same time. They know he's constrained by his VP position. Not a president of a computer company. He is limited, but he has to be somewhat exciting. He has to escape the American cocoon, without annoying people back here. Or just give American perspective on everything.

Q and A: A lot of it will be about. Questions he would have from a business audience. Rubin speaking Saturday. Barshefsky will be there and Daley as well.

How much trade has grown in 30 years -- who would have believed. Throw in some gee whiz technology stuff. Who would have believed no Soviet Union; no communist threat, principles of market acceptance. opening of markets. Who could have envisioned. Point out the tech which has driven this progress.

Sudden poverty:

this is

Ideas for speech: What are the threats to the global system as we've created it? Political threats -- protectionism as a result of economic crisis. Fear and lack of understanding



upt it in human terms. Isolationism. The tension between
Tramantano get some stuff on steel.

Legitimate national sovereignty and still multilateral action. The whole thing that emerges, the big debate in Davos, which is intense this year. What are the benefits of the free market global system. Are people being left behind. The Soros questioning of capitalism. Our technology and free market have taken us to this point. How can we "tame" the system. Drives more benefits more evenly spread with more certainty.

I think that people expect -- the expectation of sophisticated business people. This guy is going to lay out America's agenda and screw the rest of the world. The thing that will make Gore a hit is his ability to spell out a humane role for the US without sounding like we are the economic equivalent of Pax Americana. One way you might do this: Americans do care when people suffer around the world. American farmers feel their pain economically.

Talk about American farmers suffering. Economically. The fact is there is greater understanding in America about international economic trends.

Announcement in Iowa -- of Argentina.

The Clinton round is very important -- one way he might take this further. What do you hope. To achieve.

What about the development gap. One thing he might. Fact is, every political leader in western world talks about incurable poverty in developing world. Business community must understand world left behind matters to him both economically and morally, when AIDS ravages Africa. African economies suffer. When people are sick from malaria in South Asia. They don't buy computers, they don't make telephone calls. Part of the whole Bretton Woods institutions. Is of great concern to us economic and morally. Match with examples.

Gore should not say business community should be socially responsible. Don't lecture these people. Engage them. But because he's a democrat, he has to get into this issue. To make sure the economic consequences for the people know the room. It is more than a moral issue.

The eradication of poverty is as important to church leaders as it is to business.

Get some of

Use the AIDS stuff. Countries where AIDS is ravaging the economy. South Africa is very threatened by AIDS. Climbing AIDS rates devastate families and economies.

to so order life

Self interest prompts what justice demands

Don't know what the news is: The reform of -- all of these proposals for reform of the international financial system have yet to be explained in a way that makes sense to anyone except those



that sit in this rooms. The elite. What does reform of the system really mean to government and people in the developing world and the developed world that is going to be supplying the funds.

Just to talk about structural reforms to prevent -- to me, I don't understand what it really means. I'm pretty sophisticated. Gore is given credit with US Government for REGO. We need the same thing. IT needs to be expanded to all IFI for accountability and management improvement. This will be a priority. -- could be an announcement.

I don't know if Gore could say: President has asked me to undertake with Secy of Treasury of active review of -- to get it out of the finance minister trench it's now been dug into.

Trade -- if there are going to be dealing with details. He could deal with political side of Clinton round. Our chances for economic recovery depend upon fighting protectionism. This administration is going to work with all parties. Labor, business, etc. to make sure that this trade round brings the types of benefits globally. A new commitment and resolve -- don't need to get into too much substance.

You still need -- way to make news -- dangerous: predictions -- one thing in Davos. Lot of leading economists talk about what's going to happen. If he follows on Clinton themes: "American economy will remain strong and why." How well he can do this, I don't know.

What he says about Japan, China, and Brazil will be eagerly followed and widely reported. Careful about throwing markets.

Theme: If we're going to fight protectionism at home, we need some help from our trading partners. We must break the growing resistance in

The trade imbalances that now exist are politically untenable in my country and greater efforts need to be made to break down barriers that cause them.

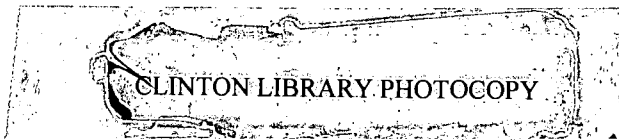
Variation: the essence of Trade is a bargain between buyer and seller. If we move to a new round and fight protectionist urges in our country. We can't do it alone. If this administration is going to fight protectionist urges in the United States, then we need some help.

Japan -- we have balance of trade with Europe.

What is happening is politically not sustainable. No leader can fight protectionism when others are not doing their part. Whether it is Europe, Japan, China, Korea. Global recovery depends on a growing consensus on opening markets not closing.

Steel -- growing consensus of labor and industry that it's suffering. Steel is not good to point out because it's old manufacturing.

Steel is not the best example of fighting protectionist urges. If you could get something



liek a 21st century product, hard drives. Telephone sets. Something where -- semiconductors -- don't know if they're getting hurt now.

Rhetorical idea: The spirit of Davos: a kind of frank, no holds-barred assessment.

This is my first visit to Davos. But I'm already infected for the spirit of Davos, which calls for candor, frankness, and as we say in the United States -- telling it like it is. Gives you permission, to be fairly tough. The speech should not be: Gore blasts Japan and China.

What about talking about a compact, we need to forge a compact a politel compact wiht Euorp and the otehr leading trading nations. We will fight portectionism at home, but you cannot conduct trade as usual. Financial crisis in Aisa, Russian gorwing concerns in altin american. We need a compact among leaders. He is not calling for managed trade, he's calling for reforms. He's calling for continued refomrs. Maybe compact could involve massive reform of int'l financial strucutre. Accountabile more effecitve. Fighting protectionism in chief trading companies. Structural reofrms in countries to revmove trade barriers, and tackling some of the tough development problems wiht innovation and creativity, and two of those three of those areas in dvelopment would be : people who are sick are not economically engaged. They don't buty products can't work -- hnealth. The technology gap. We cannot bring telephonea dn computers in minneaopolist. Ubiquity of tehcnology.

A global compact.

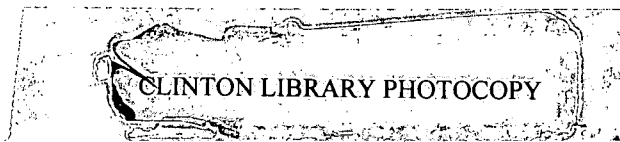
Fair and efficient -- just as we've talked about the fact that people who have AIDS -- the impact of poor helath on development is desbastation wtihout basic human rights nd refomred intsittiuosn. Anything we've learned form this crisis is the lack of poitical reformr and econmoic and eradicationag without eradicationg corruptiona nd political reofmr. markets cannot oeprate effectively. -- so link the economic interested to human rights and democracy, the basic ingredient of an operating marekt. Countries that are corrupt and not free and increasintly wirtten off by the int'l markets as undesirable.

I think we can say: "Business communtiy here nkows in there hearts, countires where corruptoin is rampant, where freedom is limited. Behind the gleaming office towers, country clubs and luxury hotels. You nstill need human rights, you still need honest business people. You could basically say "Asia" wihtout saying it. Gleaming officer towers, luxurty hotels. Do not make great economics. You still need responsive nad countable political systems. Financial integrity and honest in institutions.

I think int'l busines people woudl liek --wihtou making them seem liek they're par tof the problem. -- corruptoin dones't help any body -- except htose who are corrupt. I believ the vast majority of people everywhere are honest. etc.

Do some selective one on ones and a small group. --

This audience needs to get some of the Gore humor and self-deprecation. This is my



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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Phone No. (Partial) (1 page)	01/00/99	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Rosshirt, Thomas)
OA/Box Number: 4020

FOLDER TITLE:

Davos

2008-0703-F

jm178

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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first visit, we're in the sixth year. Some self-deprecating humor. Don't tell American jokes.

People want to see that this guy is not the wooden figure they've been reading about.

TelePrompTer -- big stage, dark room. This congress center is a small place. Like a college auditorium. It's a flat floor with chairs. Not a sloping floor. It's not a grand hall. Tend to think not.

More I think about it -- I'm with you on the short length. 20-25 a couple good key ideas.

Home:

P6(b)(6)

[001]

Sunday, Monday, Tuesday -- NOGA Hilton Geneva -- phone 41 22 908 9081

Fax: 41 22 908 9090

Wednesday evening in Davos: will be at National Hotel -- as of late Wednesday afternoon:

41 81 413 6046 Fax 41 81 413 1650

If you want me to look at a text. You can send care of US Mission.

Davos people -- will propose that some meetings with small groups of leading CEOs by sector if he wants. There's a huge group of IT folks. They have governors meetings. They get CEOs from all the major IT companies. They're doing this in the health area media. They talk about policy issues for the industry. If he wanted to meet with some international IT guys. Other thing. He might --- big group of int'l economic gurus. Academics, investment bankers. Central bank. Finance ministers -- listen to them about the global economy.

Idea for color -- for 25 years its more than business people Elie Wiesel is there every year. Davos is more than a business conference. It's an experience, and it is a spirit. To remind business community of its global role to challenge governmental leaders, to ensure that the lines of communication between business, government, the academy are enhanced. You can get into what Davos means.

One other thought: Davos is the WEF is almost becoming the equal of an international organization it has no mandate or charter, from business or gov't but is seen as a place where these links between these sectors take place. It is an example of the role of what is happening an institution created at the end of the 20th century for the 21st century where communication. No mandate. Received direction from no government from UN or WB yet emerging as an important focal point where policy issues that related to business gov't societies are increasingly discussed. World Community needs a Davos.

Little praise for Schwab at top. He's a low-key guy, little praise not buckets.
Spirit of Davos -- make reference to it to segue into something candid.

The idea that US sets the tone for everything in the world is admired and people are pushing back more and more. Gov't and business people. Gore needs to sound presidential without at the same time (by pulling back a little bit from idea that American has the answer)

We are successful; we do not have all the answers -- it would be refreshing. Our success, we have worked hard to get it. If we did -- I wouldn't be here. You'd be coming to see me. America is always morally right always right. We just act this way. We can't help ourselves. You can give lip service to the fact that we're all in the same boat.

The US has never failed in its support for European integration. It is in our economic interest and political interest. We EURO we've heard calls for some why should we support a single market that's larger than ours. Are we not helping a rival economic power. We have no fear of competitors. The US has always been a supporter -- since the Marshall plan of European integration. At peace and strong and strong partner for the United States.

Audience is heavily European.

Dir. Of the Forum:

all media relations. Opening session:

I run dinners every night in Davos --

editors in chief
famous commentators.

Barbara hosts dinners every night.
Special breakfast

Klaus's official dinner --

Opening session -- 6 - 7:30 pm Thursday night.

Klaus Schwab opens, welcomes first official session of the annual meeting
introduces participant.

Hall -- holds 1000 people balcony. Overflow rooms, with large screen projections. Journalist
write from these rooms while watching.

Prof. Klaus Schwab, Mrs. Dreyfuss press of Swiss, fed. Pres herzog fed. Republic of germany

schwab welcomes 7 minutes
Mrs. Dreyfuss will speak 8 - 10 minutes
President Herzog 18 - 20 minutes

Prof. Schwab will intro the VP
Vice President Gore 20 - 25 minutes

15 minutes q and a: Directec to the Vice President.

Opening plenary runs between one hour thrity and one hour forty.

Normally two ways to choose questions. Either roving mikes. Schwab gives mike. Or we have
hostesses circulating forms. Participants write quetsions on the form, Schwab
They prefer to have paritipcatnt standing up and having people identify themselvs and their
questions.
we would rather use the roving mike.

Paul Smyche -- representative in Washington.

Managing Director -- overall

Claude Smadja

7:30

Closed Press -- very private exclusive elite -- maybe twenty people maximum. VP and wife --... pres of switz, of press of germ annan if he's there. President of biggest int'l companies, coca cola. Foundation board people. Chair of volkwagen siemens, sony. Withwives. Prof and mrs scwab. At the Belvedere. Two hours drive from Zurich.

high and snowy.

Opening session is filmed by host broadcaster, swiss tv. European broadcasting union puts out the signal to anyone who asks for it.

Barbara -- this is your call. I host a dinner for the high level dinner every night. What we have done in the past. Sometimes the opening speaker the plenary likes to drop in around ten or ten thirty for coffee or desert. Stay by and have fun. Take questions roll up sleeves, can be off the record. Press travelling with us are welcome in her dinner.

Also, she could pull together a breakfast, follow it up with a press conference open to all the media. William Safire, Friedman Hoagland, CNN crowd. French German Canadians. Americans are very faithful.

these people are not mostly early birds either. Breakfast at 7:10, session at 8:30. Program is still moving target.

informally --

We are on the record on Tuesday at a press conference in Geneva 11 am Geneva Time.

Things we can talk about, from conversation with Stephanie Flanders:

Euro -- what we like it, why we want it to succeed, what needs to happen for it to succeed.

Crisis economies -- how are they doing? Japan, Russia

U.S. economy, how's it doing; how is it doing it?

Trade -- U.S. current account deficit v. EU

Hit a very strong pro-growth message --- strong domestic growth in Europe is needed to make the Euro a success, make Europe a success, and help stabilize the global economy.
(Actions we would like Europe to take: cut interest rates, cut regulations that inhibit growth.

New global architecture:

theme: managing globalization. Flesh out: social safety net -- making globalization work for everyone. (It's a safer approach than softening the free trade message).

WHAT WE'RE DOING:

1. Japan: program to restart corporate sectors in Asia, allowing them to sort out the big burden of corporate debt).

(We announced this at the APEC summit).

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001a. email	To National Security Advisor from Robert Malley. Subject: Israeli Policy Forum speech (1 page)	01/04/2001	P5
001b. statement	re: Draft of Israeli Policy Forum speech (14 pages)	01/05/2001	P5
002. notes	re: Israeli Policy Forum speech (7 pages)	n.d.	P5

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Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Thomas Rosshirt)
OA/Box Number: 4020

FOLDER TITLE:

Israeli Policy Forum [1]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0703-F
jm620

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Siberell, Justin H. (NSA)

From: Malley, Robert (NESA)
 Sent: Thursday, January 04, 2001 5:08 PM
 To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
 Cc: @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters; @NESASIA - NE/South Asia
 Subject: IPF SPEECH [UNCLASSIFIED]

PLEASE PASS TO SRB

SANDY:

Attached is a draft of the IPF speech. Dennis and Aaron have reviewed a first draft; this is the second. Tom R. also will need to review.

But I wanted you to have it tonight.



MEPP POTUS
 SPEECH 01.04.01.doc...

- ④ I think you need to look carefully at the parallels. They are rhetorically lovely but suggest moral equivalence, an argument we don't need.
- ③ I know we want to be even-handed. But there is an asymmetry that even-handedness obscures. I'd like to find a way, w/o name-mongering, to reflect the fact that one side has made existential decisions and the other side has not.

- ① Is this consistent w/ "leave w/ me"? Is this betrayal of Israelis if we make articulate positions they essentially have accepted and Pals not? Rewarding intransigence?

- ② From p 8 on, I think this is too much detail. I believe we should do these points at one level higher generality. Sounds like he's micromanaging. Also, this portion sounds like Dennis not the POTUS.

I am speaking today at a time that is difficult for the Middle East and for all who believe in peace. For over three months now, a tragic cycle of violence has cost hundreds of lives, shattered confidence in the peace process, and raised basic questions about the prospect of Israelis and Palestinians ever coexisting side-by-side. During this painful period, the United States has been seeking to help the parties restore calm, end the bloodshed and move toward an agreement that will address the underlying causes of their conflict. But whether it is given to this Administration or to the next to carry these goals through, I believe the time has come for me to discuss some enduring lessons we have learned and my vision of the path toward a just, lasting and comprehensive peace.

But before looking forward, we need to take a step back. From the first day I assumed office in January 1993, we ^{have} worked ~~tirelessly~~ to promote interests in the Middle East that have been defined and pursued by the United States for generations, under Republican and Democratic leaderships alike. Our efforts derive from a simple, overriding principle: the strategic and moral imperative of promoting peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

The path to a comprehensive peace has had its ups, and it certainly has had its downs, but one should ignore neither how far the region has come nor the lessons we have learned along the way about what works and what does not.

Several of these lessons stand out, accumulated and tested over eight years of peace-making. These are, I believe, enduring truths that will have to guide any effort, whether now or in the future, to reach a comprehensive peace in the region:

First, that there is no military solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict and no place for violence in this process. Peaceful negotiations ~~alone~~ offer ^{The only} ~~the~~ path to a ^{and durable} just resolution of their differences.

Second, that the Arab-Israeli conflict is not a morality play, a conflict between good and evil ~~or right and wrong~~. It is a complex historical conflict whose resolution requires fairness, balance and due regard for both sides' needs.

Third, that there can be no peace or regional stability without a strong, ~~and~~ ^{unmistakably} secure Israel. Keeping Israel strong demonstrates to its adversaries the futility of war. And keeping the Israeli people secure gives them the self-confidence to make peace.

That is why the United States' commitment to preserving Israeli's qualitative ^{should remain} ~~is~~ iron-clad.

Fourth, that discussions between the parties must be supplemented by signs of trust and partnership, for goodwill at the negotiating table cannot long survive ill intent on the ground.

little
fuzzy

And fifth, that whenever Arabs and Israelis seek to resolve their remaining differences -- today, ^{or} ~~tomorrow~~ or several years ^{before or after more heartbreak and bloodshed,} hence -- the issues will ^{be the same,} ~~remain unchanged.~~ The parties will face the same history, the same geography, the same demography, the same passions and hatreds and, I am ^{convinced,} ~~sure~~ the same painful but necessary compromises that ^{are necessary for} ~~stand in the way of~~ a comprehensive peace. Whoever believes that the other side's resolve or courage or strength will diminish is mistaken, and ^{logically} ~~any~~ so.

The cycle of violence that has broken out between Israelis and Palestinians has led many to question these core principles and indeed to doubt not only the value of the peace process but the possibility of peace itself. Israelis believe that at a time when they were prepared to take far-reaching decisions for peace, they have experienced gun-fire and terror. [Palestinians

believe that their legitimate pursuit of land and freedom is met by disproportionate force.] And so, many ask whether negotiations can in fact achieve peace . . . whether unilateral steps are not a more realistic route than mutually agreed ones . . . whether Israelis and Palestinians can ever again be partners.

I know we have to say something here, but it is not legitimate pursuit that prompts disproportionate force]

To all of them, let me say this: *what we have seen over the* ~~this~~ is not the future for which Yitzakh Rabin gave his life. And it is not the future I had in mind when I spoke to the Palestinian people in Gaza two years ago. But do not draw the wrong lessons from this tragic chapter. The violence *does not* demonstrates ~~not~~ that the quest for peace has gone too far -- but that it has not gone far enough. It points not to the failure of negotiations -- but to the futility *of violence and force.* ~~of any military solution.~~ It suggests that unilateral steps will not abate mutual hostility -- but exacerbate it. And, finally, it confirms the need for more confidence-building steps -- not ~~the~~ the continuation on ~~the~~ one side of a culture of incitement and hostility and on the other of a policy that includes settlement expansion and economic strangulation.

past three months

There's a line b/w even-handed and not equivalence that I

All of which brings me squarely to what has been the source of most of our hope over the past several years and the source of *fear -- said again, and better at p 576*

much of our anxiety over the past several weeks -- the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

(The first)
For both Palestinians and Israelis, a priority must be to end the dangerous cycle of violence, for in its wake lie only more destruction and anguish. The steps both sides must take rest on a basic principle: Palestinians cannot resort to violence even when what they consider to be their legitimate goals are not being achieved through negotiations; and Israelis must not resort to massive force or collective punishment even when they feel they are victims of unjustified attacks. It is as simple as that.

But both sides need to go further if they are to address some of their underlying problems. On the Palestinian side, what is required is an end to the culture of violence and incitement that, since Oslo, has continued unchecked. Young children are educated to believe in confrontation with Israel; and multiple militia-like groups carry weapons with impunity. Voices of reason and courageous leadership are being drowned out by voices of passion and desperation that can lead only to bloodshed and death. Let me be clear: this is inconsistent with the notion that the Palestinian people want to achieve peace and have made it their strategic choice. In what they do and say, day in and

day out, they are sending a message to the Israeli people. The question is: will it be a message of hatred or of hope?

For their part, the Israeli people must understand that continuing the settlement enterprise, building bypass roads, or demolishing homes is inconsistent with the notion that both sides must negotiate their differences, not resolve them by creating facts on the ground. And they also must understand that restoring confidence requires giving the Palestinians the means to lead normal lives, rather than being subjected to daily harassment. *often*

At the end of the day, the fundamental question remains this: can two people who have gone through this kind of violence still conclude a genuine and lasting peace? My answer -- and I believe this with all my heart -- not only is that they can, but that they must. The alternative to a peaceful settlement never has been clearer; it is being played out before our very eyes. The only difference is that, the longer they wait, the *greater the cost in* ~~more~~ blood and tears will be shed.

But we have learned something else over the past several months. What happened at Camp David was a transformative event ~~that~~ *in which* ~~finally compelled~~ the two sides *to* ^d face the core issues of their

dispute and the key tradeoffs required to end it. So far, they have not been able to reach a final settlement, and that of course is regrettable. But I am convinced that just as Oslo forced Israelis and Palestinians to come to terms with each other's existence, the discussions of the past six months will force them to come to terms with each other's needs and with the contours of the peace that, ultimately, they will have to reach. It may take some time, and it will require genuine leadership. In his bold strides for peace, Prime Minister Barak has ^{led} ~~opened~~ the way, with vision, courage and true statesmanship.

perhaps if this comes soon, it will take some of sting out of your plague on both their houses

Two weeks ago, I took an unprecedented step. Given the exhaustion of the interim phase that began with Oslo and the tragic deterioration on the ground, I concluded that it was my responsibility to put forward the parameters that, in my view, should guide a comprehensive agreement. I did this not out of a belief that we possess a magical solution to this conflict, but with the benefit of eight years of listening carefully to both sides and thinking long and hard about their respective grievances and needs.

Barack wanted us to do it. Why take all responsibility

define as boundaries not fixed positions

I believe these ideas constitute the outlines of a just and lasting settlement -- a settlement that responds to the two sides' essential needs, if not to their unrealistic desires. I

am convinced that both Israelis and Palestinians deserve their sovereign homeland and that both deserve to live in peace and security. My ideas follow logically from that conviction.

*I don't
like this
construct.*

I believe that

First, my ideas rest on the notion that there can be no genuine resolution to this conflict without a sovereign and viable Palestinian state. At the same time, any solution will have to accommodate demographic realities and Israel's security

*Too much
ownership -
& believe
that...*

requirements. And so, my ideas suggest Palestinian sovereignty over Gaza and the vast majority of the West Bank and the incorporation into Israel of reasonably sized settlement blocs.

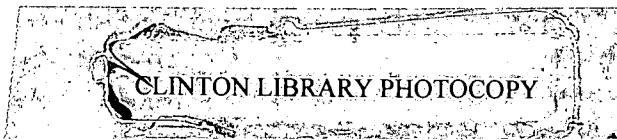
The land annexed by Israel should be as small as possible, for Palestine should be a viable, geographically contiguous state.

It should involve the addition of a minimum number of Palestinians, for how can Israel explain the incorporation of tens of thousands of Palestinians when the very logic of peace is two separate homelands? And it should be accompanied by mutual territorial modifications and concessions that address core Palestinian needs, for how else will this be accepted as a fair deal?

Second, a solution will have to be found for the Palestinian refugees, who have suffered a great deal and feel victims of a grave injustice. A genuine solution must allow them to return

to their historic homeland and give them the tools to lead normal, productive and healthy lives. At the same time, it makes no sense to create a State of Palestine only to see the Palestinian refugees go to Israel, thereby threatening the foundations of that state and undermining the very logic of the peace. And so, my ideas focus on the establishment of a Palestinian state that will provide all Palestinians with a place they can safely and proudly call home. This has been the core of the Palestinian struggle since its beginning, and it would be no small achievement. All those Palestinian refugees who wish to live in this homeland should have that right. All others deserve help in finding new homes -- whether in their current locations or in third countries, including Israel. And all refugees deserve compensation for their losses and generous assistance in building their new lives.

Third, there will be no peace so long as the Israeli people do not feel secure and any agreement will have to include security arrangements that address their legitimate concerns. At the same time, these need not and should not come at the expense of Palestinians sovereignty or interfere with Palestine's territorial integrity. And so, my ideas rely on an international presence in Palestine to provide border security and deterrence while also monitoring implementation of the final



agreement by both sides. They rely, too, on a non-militarized Palestine, a phased Israeli withdrawal, and other security steps that will allow the Israeli people to adapt to their new strategic situation.

Fourth, I come to the issue of Jerusalem, perhaps the most emotional and sensitive of all. It is a historic, cultural and political center for both Israelis and Palestinians, a city sacred to all three monotheistic religions, home to a space that is holy to Jews and to Moslems. And so, my ideas flow from three fair and logical proposition: first, that what is Arab should come under Palestinian sovereignty, for what interest does Israel have in governing the lives of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians? Second, that what is Jewish should come under Israeli sovereignty, giving rise to a Jewish Jerusalem east and west that is larger than any seen in past times. And third, that what is holy to both requires special care to meet the needs of all, for no peace agreement will last if not premised on respect for all religions.

Under these ideas, Jerusalem would be an open and undivided city, with freedom of access and worship for all. It would encompass the capital of two states -- the state of Israel and the state of Palestine. And while Palestine would have

sovereignty over the Haram el-Sharif, thereby formalizing today's reality, Judaism's sacred link to the area would be both recognized and preserved.

Fifth and finally, any agreement will have to mark the decision to end the conflict for neither side can afford to be subjected to open-ended demands. That means that once implemented, there can be no more claims, that this really is the end of the struggle that has pitted Palestinians against Jews for far too long. And this end of conflict must manifest itself with concrete acts that demonstrate a new attitude, a new approach.

At the same time, the parties' experience with the interim accords has not always been a happy one. Too many deadlines have been missed, too many commitments unfulfilled. So for this to signify a real end of the conflict, there will need to be effective mechanisms that provide guarantees on implementation for both sides.

*too little
of conditions
by Pals*

This, I believe, is the outline of a fair agreement, from which each side may feel it loses a little, but from which I know both sides gain so much: For the people of Israel, an end to the conflict, secure and defensible borders, the incorporation of a vast majority of the settlers into Israel, and the largest

Jewish Jerusalem in history, recognized by all as its capital. For the Palestinian people, the ability to determine their future on their own land, a sovereign state recognized by the international community, with a capital in al-Quds, recognized by all, and new lives for the refugees.

Of course, each sides will try to do better; but a peace that will be viewed as imposed by one party upon the other, a peace that puts one side up and the other one down rather than both ahead, contains the seeds of its own destruction. And let me say this: those on either side who believe that my ideas can be used as departure points, that they can be altered to one party's exclusive benefit are mistaken. To seek a peace without compromise is not to seek peace at all. Sooner or later, I am sure, both sides will come to recognize it.

Israelis and Palestinians are unlikely to agree with everything I have said. They may even object strongly to some of it. But I say it out of a profound attachment to Israel, to the Palestinian people, and to the peace process in which they have been engaged. My ties to Israel, like America's, run deep. They are rooted in history, founded on common interests, sustained by shared values. During my tenure, I sought to expand our already unique military relationship with Israel and

13

my determination to protect and strengthen Israel's safety is second to none. As for the Palestinian people, ~~one of my proudest accomplishments as President was my~~ *I am proud to have been the first* visit to Gaza and one of my most enduring lessons was what it taught me about their suffering, but also their resilience, courage and determination to see that justice be done. I said at the time that the Palestinian people should be able to determine their own future on their own land and I believe that as strongly now as I did then.

Before closing, I would like to address one more thought to the Palestinian people. Courage is not only, or even mainly, measured on the battlefield. It is measured in the ability to recognize and to seize historic opportunities. Of your prowess in ~~the~~ *what battle* battle, the world has no doubt. But today, it is that other form of courage that is being tested. Never as now have you been as close to achieving your goals -- regaining your land, establishing a state, building a prosperous future for your children. There will always be those sitting comfortably on the outside urging you to hold out for the impossible more. But these are the same people who in the past pledged their help only to quickly turn their backs. They are not the ones who have had to suffer the consequences of their earlier mistakes. You are. They are not the ones whose refugees will

continue to languish in crowded camps. You are. They are not the ones whose children will grow up in poverty. You are. Now is the time to seize this opportunity. At Oslo, your leaders demonstrated the courage needed to take the first historic step. They need to summon that same courage to take the final one. For you. For your children. For the wellbeing and pride of Palestine.

Great

I have done my best to put my ideas on the table and offer a way out of today's madness. I will continue to work on that basis until my last day in office. But, regardless of whether we succeed now, our work will be picked up because the search for peace is never long abandoned. I believe that the ideas I outlined will serve as the basis for the solution that will come, whenever it comes. Let history be the judge.

too strong

notes:

We as an organization - the core leadership of the organization, truly love this man. the level of gratitude for what he has done and felt and what he has shared it just unbelievable. we have mostly Dems and some Repubs and they're not big fans in general and they're all fans of what he's done for Israel and the peace process. It's a mutual love affair. in a certain way our organization. life of organization has somewhat paralleled his presidency. we haven't known another president. we're about to.

Other piece, we have no desire to try to make this speech. please say this - about Jerusalem. we don't want to make it one way - kind of input: some organizational ; if you can brainstorm about what hook we can use other than news.

what is the hook. when VP spoke two years ago to the group. it was the first time he had ever expressed publicly his support for this process. It was his first speech in 1999.

Last year PM speech first speech ever in the Jewish audience in the US.

it would be wonderful if he reflected on the fact that is his last major speech to a Jewish audience. the program itself will have some religious imagery in it. some of it is moving. if he talks a little bit to this group. they won't all be Jews but most will be. He's talked about his religious feelings (go back and get: "Bill, don't ever forget Israel."

Get the riff from SRB on Israel birthday - it is hard to imagine there every being: we hold these truths.

assuming no other change in the schedule. program starts after he walks in.

it will begin with a song. the song is Talmudic phrase: it is not up to you to complete the task, neither may you desist from it."

They feel he did exactly what the Talmud says. Lesley Stahl is the program host. She'll be speaker of the Knesset. religious man about 45 years old. beautiful deep voice. say a few words - getting there would not be enough. fulfill vision of prophet nations shall not lift sword against nation.

lights go out and video - video is not complete. does two things. takes place of speeches by honorees. Alan solomont and susie stern are in video.

theme in video: america's connection to making peace. images of maeircan presidents meeting with arab and israeli leaders. you got to keep on trying. it ends with the president as he walks off in the distance, final words of video: "promises to keep and miles to go before I sleep"

Lesley will present the honors. trying to do it in a way - they speak for a paragraph.

after honors. Israel's cabinet secretary. we have a video from the pm. israel cabsecy will intro PM, he comes on video 90 seconds. most of it is to the President. when lights go on after video. Jack Benheim and Michael Sonnenfeldt are there and give the President a gift.

Magillah is like one part of the Torah. it's a scroll you pull it out of olivewood round casing. it's for peace, on scroll is written the song of peace favorite of rabin.

Let the sun rise and brighten up the morning. Do not say the day will come, make the day happen.

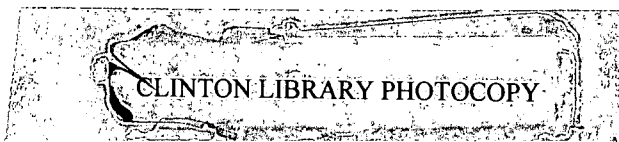
prayers cannot bring the dead back. song sung at rally at the end of which prime minister rabin was assassinated.

also a very beautiful one-line poem or saying from Hasidic rabbi, the entire world is a narrow bridge, the principle of life is not to be afraid.

at the top of this scroll is the picture of a bridge. those are the themes.

Then POTUS would speak after he gets the gifts.

whole idea: this is from our point of view. we want him to know, we want to affirm we are going to continue the work he has begun. we want to declare that affirmation to him by having people int eh audience rise, first some of the top leaders in the Jewish community, then others, then everyone in the audience, all of whom will be waering a wihte ribbon as the ribbon of peace.



when everyone is standing, we will ask them and project on the screen to say the prayer that in the jewish tradiiton is said when you see a king or a great leader. the prayer translates as: "blessed are you eternal our god who give presence and distinction to flesh and blood. in a certain way the president is a manifestation to God's presence and distinction.

then everyone will sit down. everyone will get off the stage. it will be time for the president to speak. we would like to do the affirmation. it's part of the political agenda.

we need to keep people moving on this issue.

would be great if he could after gift acknowledge the commitment that was made to continue the work that he has been doing. continue the work, and somehow weave in - neither are you free to desist, if he can

"if not for you alone to complete the task, but neither are you free to desist from it." short from generations

thematic link - hebrew phrase - from generation to generation

mi'dor l'dor

there is another phrase which is from the hagadah. in every generation a person has to see himself or herself as having left Egypt as recreating Egypt. American bipartisan tradition of trying to bring about peace. images on the screen throughout the evening. Johnson-clinton and all their arab and israeli contacts. that's also from generation to generation. ti would be wonderful if the president were in some ways to respond to what Bush said yesterday. Maybe Clinton could respond to it. challenge to Bush.

If he would do something like that -- to Bush -

organizational considerations.

mention - first persons Jack and Michael.

Michael - he is finishing chair of IPF. IF POTUS would say: congratulate you on finishing your term as chair as thank youy for all your wonderful work. To Jack: it should be very personal Jack is a friend who never asked for anything other than this stuff. POTUS ahs always appreciated Jack. so I would



- my friend. your friendship has meant a lot to me. your work has meant a lot.

He needs to say: Solomont is someone he knows. Suzie is someone he knows. no more than a couple of sentences about everyone. don't know what he says about Dwayne. he pled guilty. might want to ask what he says.

about dwayne: feeding people. he has been a strong opponent of anti-semitism and supporter of peace. lou perlmuter. we've jokes about a republican jew. a very moderate guy. lou your commitment to moderation and a practical approach to a peace process. POTUS has no relationship with Lou.

There will be a number of dignitaries.

berger albright lot of people from the Administration. good if he said something to or about the PM.

We've done a lot of polls. we know he's always seen them. Rep. Capps passed away, he's at funeral.

polling is one of the most valuable contributions. advocacy and education.

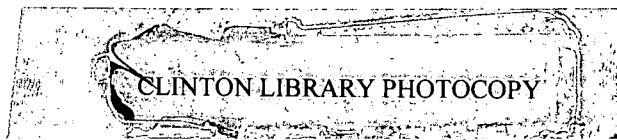
giving people real and objective info so they can make sound decision. our advocacy began when we have a meeting with srbr early one and sandy said what we need more than anything is to have you lobby congress.

praise of IPF: in terms of what we do. there are four things. to highlight. provide information and education. education the leaders of congress and the jewish community.

fact that we believe in educating.

we bring israel security experts to the United States to explain the strategic underpinnings of the peace diplomacy. why peace is an essential element of Israel's security needs. the dangers of weapons of mass destruction. the importance of prosperity aid to the palestinians and the importance of that to peace and stability.

IPF - we always say we promote the peace process in order to strengthen israeli security and further american foreign policy interests in the regions. we do it as americans who love israel who are concerned about american interests.



the unique thing historically, really the first time an american jewish org engaged politically as americans in the american political process

what AIPAC does on foreign aid. we do in peace process.

two words we use responsible and pragmatic.

we did a lot of lobbying around the need for peace with syria

we did a lot of work around sensitizing people to the dangers of the wmd and radical militarism. I was sitting in the cabinet room with 30 people how dangerous the mix of radical fundamentalism and wmd. how lethal that can be.

when we go to congress; that's what we talk about. take a look at what israel is doing now. look at the choices in the context of the future if there is not a peace.

people get angrier and more powerful.

we do a lot of in the last year. meetings with leaders in the region. in setp IPF mission we had to meet with to meet with mubarak arafat and barak. to bring the perspective of pragmatic responsible american jews and make them aware of our perspective.

including meetings with leaders of the region.

choice people will become more angry poor and powerful.

there is no alternative. hebrew phrase. why do we pursue peace.

Ein Breira AIN Brayrah

it's hard to motivate people by saying there is no alternative. either scare or inspire. I have a problem with ein brayrah.

can he turn ain brayrah. there is an alternative.

YAISH - there is ... the truth is -

the alternative is peace, the hard-nosed practical alternative.



Michael Sonnenfeldt is there some way when - if there is some way of his clapping, when he acknowledges Michael.
I thank you, sir. Make notice of Michael an applause line.

president arrives at 8:30.

Debbie Wasserman: 212 245 4227
Jeanne Ellinport: 202 456 5157 -- OPL

President is guest of honor. Event is Sunday, January 7 in New York in the evening. reception 6:30. dinner 7:30.

They will honor 4 leaders

louis perlmutter
alan d. solomont
susan K stern
special recognition: Dwayne Andreas

mention Jack and Michael as outgoing and incoming presidents.

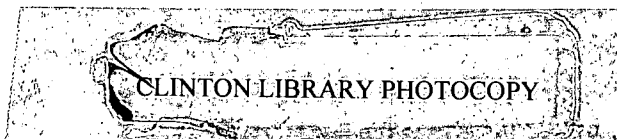
Talk about IPF in general their work how important they are.

They have a database of 7000 that invitations went out to. they have 920 people coming. I'll hand Doug a card before when we brief them. Albright will be there. Sandy is trying to be there. Mara and Rob will be there. Members of Congress.

Corporate MCI World.com

Home email: jjellinport@questinternet.net

ipf - jonathan jacoby visionary kind of guy. middle of the road. extremely helpful to this administration. few if only groups that srb and mara meet with in the last couple of months. they understand strategy. they asked to see sandy in september week before hell broke loose because they were going to meet iwht arafat and barak.



they are completely in line with us. extensions of the administration. we turned to them on foreign aid to make the big calls. Their board is extensive. former AIPAC people on it Jack Benheim is ex president. birthday is day before. I'll tell POTUS. Jack runs Phillips Brothers Chemical which does huge business in Israel. Jack stepping down - Michael Sonnenfeldt is the incoming President.

W A Graham divin word and prophetic word in early islam. The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1977), page 127

In certain hadith, called hadith qudsi. Allah speaks in the first person outside the Qur'an.

God says: "I fulfill My servant's expectation of Me, and I am with him when he remembers Me. If he remembers me in his heart, I remember him in my heart; and if he remembers me in public, I remember him before a public (far) better than that. And if he draws nearer to me by a handbreadth, I draw nearer to him by an armslength; and if he draws nearer to Me by an armslength, I draw nearer to him by a fathom; and if he comes to Me walking, I come to Him running."

This is a Hadith - words of Allah to humankind. It describes Allah's desire to draw ever closer to humankind. If only one day we would all respond in the same way -- whenever an enemy makes an overture for peace. It is a model of what motivates those we honor today.

use this with the Hadith --

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001a. email	To National Security Advisor from Thomas M. Rosshirt. Subject: Tel Aviv remarks (1 page)	05/15/2000	P5
001b. schedule	re: Draft remarks of Samuel R. Berger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, at the Ceremony on the Conferment of Honorary Degrees at Tel Aviv University (7 pages)	05/15/2000	P5
002. note	Phone No.'s (Partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

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Tel Aviv Speech

Siberell, Justin H. (NSA)

From: Rosshirt, Thomas M. (SPCHW)
Sent: Monday, May 15, 2000 11:31 AM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters; @NESASIA - NE/South Asia
Subject: Tel Aviv remarks [UNCLASSIFIED]



monday 11 am.doc

For SRB

Latest draft with your changes

Rob had recommended including the reference to the Pope. Apparently Barak told the President the Pope made a fantastic impression there, and if he had stayed another week, Israelis would have started baptizing their children.

Talked again to Tel Aviv this morning. They can allow ten minutes for the evening remarks. Means some cuts are probably still necessary.

President Rabinowicz will introduce you in the morning session. That would give you the chance to make some comments in praise of him.

Comments to Rosshirt

Tom

I love it. Let's
keep fiddling. Still
concerned about length.

To: Tom Rosshirt

Fax: 237-1684

(X)

(Now 15 min)

5/15/00 11:30 am
Rosshirt

Samuel R. Berger
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Ceremony on the Conferment of Honorary Degrees
Tel Aviv University
May 21, 2000

President of the Supreme Court, Members of the Presidium, Deans, Excellencies, Governors,
Distinguished Guests, Faculty and Students, and, of course, My fellow Honorees:

Don't like humbled
I am ~~humbled~~ ^{honored} tonight to be joining the ranks of the highly distinguished poets, artists, scientists, and statesmen who have received an honorary doctorate degree from Tel Aviv University, and I thank you for the added honor of speaking for my fellow honorees. I understand that Amos Oz, who received an honorary doctorate here eight years ago, politely declined to speak for the others, saying "there is no way I can speak on behalf of anyone. On a lucky night I sometimes manage to represent myself." I admire Mr. Oz's humility and restraint. Nonetheless, I accept the privilege of speaking for my fellow honorees, but only in this respect: I will try in my remarks tonight to speak for those of us here and everywhere who hope and work for a world at peace. *unrespectful*

There are few things in the history of human longing more highly prized than peace.

Isaiah prophesies the reign of the Messiah will see no end of peace. [Isaiah 8:7] The Koran says believers will be met in paradise by angels wishing them "Peace." [Qur'an 13:23-24]. Christians call Jesus Christ the Prince of Peace.

Tragically, we have seen throughout human history many more advances in the weapons of war than in the arts of peace. Today, *on the heels* ^(?) ~~after the close~~ of history's bloodiest century, with ethnic and ideological and territorial conflicts so persistent, and the technology of destruction so

sophisticated, we face with ever greater urgency the ancient question: Can peace prevail on earth?

I have been honored, in serving President Clinton, to have had the good fortune of meeting some men, and facing some moments, that have taught me precious lessons of peace.

seems too haughty

gender
One lesson is this: A commitment to a just peace ^{*sometimes*} means we must be prepared to fight -- for when good and evil collide, peace and justice often cannot prevail together. Israel has faced many such moments. America and its European allies faced such a moment last year, when Slobodan Milosevic ^{*undertook*} ~~tried~~ to close the 20th century with a chapter of ethnic slaughter. Many people doubted whether the West could, or even should, respond. And yet somehow, 19 ^{*democracies*} ~~nations~~ in NATO, each with its own internal differences and historical ties in the Balkans, came together and stayed together to stop the killing. And I will never forget the words ^{*later uttered*} at the White House ^{*of by*} Elie Wiesel: "This time the world was not silent."

I like this but does it suggest in next sentence that wars are rare?
Still, even a just war cannot by itself ensure a just and lasting peace. ~~And~~ ^{*And*} most wars do not end with clear victory; many seem never to end at all. [Under such circumstances, some leaders have sought peace superficially -- not because of a change of heart, but because of a change in fortunes. They have grown weak or exhausted, or they have found find themselves cornered, or they have tried to buy time for a future attack.] ~~But~~ ^{*But*} the leaders I admire have sought peace when they were strong. They were capable of fighting on. But they recognized that their people's aspirations could not be achieved by continuing to fight. They have shown us it is possible to ~~be~~ ^{*to*} wise before one is weary.

find this confusing. See (2) →
Nelson Mandela's country was settled centuries ago by Europeans who forced a doctrine of white supremacy on the people of the land. And they forced into prison cells -- or graves -- the ^{*to make*} who fought back. A few years ago, President Mandela took us to see his old cell on Robben ^{*to make*} who fought back. A few years ago, President Mandela took us to see his old cell on Robben ^{*peace when you are strong is to fail to seize victory*}

rather use the "twisted logic of war" i.e.

to make peace when you are weak is surrender; to make peace when you are strong is to fail to seize victory

Island – a damp, cramped ~~cell~~, hardly large enough for him to lie flat upon the floor, with one tiny window -- one foot square. He lived there 27 years -- no heat, no fan, no faucet, ^{noted} a bucket for a toilet – and three letters a month. And yet he talked to us of his life there with extraordinary serenity.

President Clinton asked him at one point: “Weren’t you angry? Even after you were freed, weren’t you bitter?” And President Mandela said: “Briefly, Yes. But then I thought: ‘I have waited so long for freedom. And if my anger comes with me out of this place, I will still be their prisoner, and I want to be free. I want to be free.’”

also

I remember two years ago our marathon meeting at the Wye Plantation in Maryland with President Clinton, Prime Minister Netanyahu, Chairman Arafat – trying to restart a peace process

that had stalled dangerously for 18 months. On day nine, the talks were close to breakdown, ~~we~~ ^{the President} had declared it our final day, our final chance for peace, and still there were matters we could not settle. King Hussein, with only a few months of life left within him, ~~came to speak to us at our~~

*Intro this
X of
President
came*
common invitation. Weak with cancer, ~~his hair gone from chemotherapy~~ ^{he} sat at the head of the table and in that deep sonorous voice – with the authority of one who has given up life’s squabbles and centered his mind on the eternal – he said: “There has been enough death and destruction. We have no right by our irresponsible actions to ruin the lives of our children, and our children’s children.” When he finished, no one whispered even a word of response. We resumed our work, and though we stretched that final day out to 48 hours, we concluded the agreement.

I also remember the day in President Clinton’s first year in office, when Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat had concluded the Oslo Accords and were to sign the agreements on the South Lawn of the White House. Just before leaving the Oval Office, President Clinton – understanding the demands of the moment -- said to Yitzhak Rabin: “You know you will have

to shake hands with Chairman Arafat." ~~And~~ ^{The} Prime Minister truly looked pained. He wanted peace for the future. But would a handshake appear to forgive the past? He paused long in thought. But minutes later, he and Chairman Arafat sealed their agreement with a hand shake, and Yitzhak Rabin said in his remarks to the world: "You do not make peace with your friends."

President Clinton has quoted those words everywhere in the world he has urged people to make peace. To Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland. To the parties to the conflict in Burundi. To refugees returning to their homes in Kosovo. He told that story of Rabin to the Indian Parliament this spring, referring to the terrible costs of war and the imperative of dialogue with Pakistan. There in the legislative chamber of the world's most populous democracy, the story met with a murmur of voices, then applause. The wisdom and realism of Yitzhak Rabin's words struck home.

In all the peacemaking efforts I have seen, the greatest obstacles to a future of peace are the grievances of the past -- the searing memories of ~~of crying orphans~~ of war; the heartbreaking sights of innocent suffering.

~~It is~~ ^{It is} ~~so~~ ^{the instinct} difficult to put aside ~~the desire~~ ^{the instinct} for revenge; it can feel like disloyalty to those who have suffered. But making peace is not forgetting past grievances; it is trying to make sure the grievances don't ~~multiply~~ ^{perpetuate themselves}. The injustice suffered by both sides must be acknowledged by both sides. And those responsible for evil actions must be held accountable. But the desire for justice cannot degenerate into a drive for vengeance. ^{and} Those who seek through peace to redress ~~all~~ ² past grievances, are not seeking peace; they are still waging war.

Nelson Mandela, King Hussein, Yitzhak Rabin, and others like Vaclav Havel and Kim Dae Jung, Gandhi and Martin Luther King have ~~not~~ understood this truth. But the existence of a handful of heroes is not a strategy for peace. In pursuit of peace, we need something more than a ~~small~~ ^{handful}

what's wrong w/ that?

[surge of courage] in the world. We need to take advantage of the special characteristics of this particular moment in history.

longer (just told of [but that's too colloquial])

Nationhood and national sovereignty have served for centuries as unifying, stabilizing forces within society. They confer a common identity that builds bonds, advances progress, and eases cooperation among citizens. Today, however, the impact ~~and influence~~ of territorial boundaries are evolving. Goods, services, ideas, and people can move more freely across borders than ever before. In many parts of the world, in western Europe for example, the role of borders as *help?* barriers is shrinking -- with a rise in cross-border cooperation advancing prosperity, encouraging good will, and strengthening peace. Can the same thing happen in regions of greater strife? I believe it can. After all, the movement toward European integration immediately followed the most destructive war in human history.

At the same time, the geography of national security -- the link between land and national defense once considered sacrosanct -- is also evolving. Weapons of mass destruction, long-range missiles, world-wide terrorist networks and global computer viruses are threats all nations face together and no nation can defeat on its own. Security now depends less on the distance between neighbors than on the closeness between neighbors. True security comes from being surrounded by partners, not walls.

By no means am I suggesting that the old threats have vanished, that sovereignty is not essential, that we don't need armies to defend our borders, our values, and our lives. We do. But in the tightly intertwined world of the global economy, it is harder than ever to win by making someone else lose. Neighbors increasingly share the same fortunes. Regions tend to grow economically, or shrink economically -- together. When they grow together, grievances are lightened; the cost of confrontation increases, and so therefore do the incentives for maintaining

peace. Interdependence is worth promoting; cooperation is worth pursuing, for the sake of prosperity, for the sake of security, for the sake of peace.

Here in the Holy Land, this historic drama for peace is playing itself out right now. And it is perhaps the greatest challenge of peacemaking in the world. This is a place that more than any other is defined by its past – by its people's connection to their land; their traditions; their stories of suffering, strife, and exile. And yet, as His Holiness Pope John Paul II showed the world so movingly in his visit here this Spring, wholehearted devotion to one's own faith is perfectly consistent with a devout respect for the faith of others.

In a land where two sides have competing claims – but when a changing world opens new doors of opportunity -- imagination ~~can~~ ^{must} come to the aid of tradition. How can both sides honor the past, resolve claims, acknowledge suffering, and give the gift of peace to one another and their children? How can they build a region where borders unite rather than divide?

Can we seize this moment? The answer is not fixed and waiting to be revealed; it is fluid and waiting to be created – by the force of each of our actions. And we must act now. The stream of history flows endlessly onward. It will not wait. It will not return.

Many wise men across the centuries have prophesied that the world will never know an end of war. Yet, who is to say what is the limit of human achievement, or what is the endpoint of moral development? The existence of war over millennia is merely evidence peace is difficult, not proof that peace is impossible.

If we are ever to replace the anticipation of war with the expectation of peace, we must be able to do it here, in this land, ^{at this time} ~~And why not~~ here in this land? The teachings from this land gave us our ideas of human dignity and social justice. The prophets of this land gave us our hope for

7

progress in human history. The people of this land gave us our proof that impossible goals can become possible through generations of single-minded struggle.

The inheritors of this Holy Land can -- if any can -- come together in a moment of choice to change the world -- and turn hostility to prosperity, suffering into healing, and war into peace.

#

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5/17/00 10 am
Rosshirt

Samuel R. Berger
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Ceremony on the Conferment of Honorary Degrees
Tel Aviv University
May 21, 2000

President of the Supreme Court, Members of the Presidium, Deans, Excellencies, Governors,
Faculty and Students, Distinguished Guests, and, of course, My fellow Honorees:

I am honored and delighted tonight to be joining the ranks of the distinguished poets, artists, scientists, and statesmen who have received an honorary doctorate degree from Tel Aviv University, and I thank you for the added privilege of speaking for my fellow honorees. I understand that Amos Oz, who received an honorary degree here eight years ago, politely declined to speak for the others, saying "there is no way I can speak on behalf of anyone. On a lucky night I sometimes manage to represent myself." I admire Mr. Oz's humility and restraint. Nonetheless, I respectfully accept the privilege, and the risk, of speaking for my fellow honorees, but only in this sense: I will try in my remarks tonight to speak for ^{all} those ~~ones~~ here and everywhere who hope and work for a world at peace. (note: consider "hope and work" as a unit and it works okay.)

[pause]

There are few things in the history of human longing more highly prized than peace.

Isaiah prophesies the reign of the Messiah will see no end of peace. [Isaiah 8:7] The Koran says believers will be met in paradise by angels wishing them "Peace." [Qur'an 13:23-24]. Christians call Jesus Christ the Prince of Peace.

Tragically, throughout human history we have seen more advances in the tools for waging war than in the art of making peace. ~~[weapons of war than in the art of peace]~~ Today, on the heels of history's bloodiest century, with ethnic and ideological and territorial conflicts so persistent and the technology of destruction so sophisticated, we face with ever greater urgency the ancient question: Can peace prevail on earth?

I have been privileged, in serving President Clinton, to have met some leaders, and ~~and~~ ^{witnessed} some moments, that have revealed precious truths about peace.

One truth is this: Commitment to a just peace means we may sometimes be forced to fight -- for when good and evil collide, peace and justice often cannot prevail together. The international community faced such a moment last year, when Slobodan Milosevic sought to close the 20th ~~century~~ ^{bloodiest} ~~with~~ ^(in history as a final) a chapter of ethnic slaughter. Many people doubted whether the West could, or even should, respond. And yet, NATO's nineteen ^{diverse} democracies, ~~each with its own internal differences and historical ties in the Balkans~~, came together and stayed together to stop the killing. And I will never forget the words later uttered at the White House by Elie Wiesel: "This time the world was not silent."

But many conflicts do not end as quickly and decisively as Kosovo; indeed, many seem never to end at all. ~~In these cases, combatants often seek peace only after they have become tired, cornered or exhausted.~~ But ⁴⁵ some of the leaders I admire most are those who sought peace when they were ~~able to make~~ ^{strong} war. They have shown us it is possible to be wise before one is weary.

In the twisted logic of war, those who are weary reject peace because it appears to be surrender. And those who are strong reject peace because they believe peace is at hand.

~~note to SRB: Rob pointed out our three stories are of those who sought peace when they were strong. If we use the "twisted logic of war" it would seem to require us, for balance, to cite examples of those who sought peace even though they were weak. Under those circumstances, Tom and I think it is better to omit it. Still, fighting a just war is not in itself ensure a just peace. Most wars do not end with clear victory; many seem never to end at all. And many an impulse to peace falls prey to the twisted logic of war. Those who are weak reject peace, because it appears to be surrender. Those who are strong reject peace, because victory is at hand. So war goes on. The leaders I admire have sought peace when they were strong. They were capable of fighting on. But they recognized that their people's aspirations could not be achieved by continuing to fighting. They have shown us it is possible to be wise before one is weary.~~

[Tom / Rob - perhaps you had the live through me logic of few years of war in Vietnam to fully appreciate my point. I'm happy as currently edited]

Nelson Mandela's country was settled centuries ago by Europeans who ~~imposed~~ a doctrine of white supremacy on the people of that land. And they forced into prison -- or graves -- those who fought back. In 1998, President Mandela took us to see his old cell on Robben Island -- damp, cramped, ~~without a bed for much of his incarceration~~ ^{he entered in 1964} ~~hardly large enough for him to lie flat upon the floor, with one tiny window -- one foot square. He lived there 27 years -- no heat, no fan, no faucet -- a bucket for a toilet and three letters a month.~~ And yet he talked to us of his life there with extraordinary serenity.

"Weren't you angry?" President Clinton asked him. "Even after you were freed, weren't you bitter?" And President Mandela said: "Briefly, Yes. But then I thought: 'I have waited so long for freedom. And if my anger follows me out of this place, I will still be their prisoner, and I want to be free. I want to be free.'"

~~also~~ And I remember our marathon meeting at the Wye Plantation in Maryland two years ago with President Clinton, Prime Minister Netanyahu, Chairman Arafat -- trying to restart a peace process

that had stalled dangerously for 18 months. On day nine, the talks were close to breakdown, President Clinton had declared this our final day, our final chance for peace, and still there were matters we could not settle. Into this crucible came King Hussein, with only a few months of life left within him. Weak with cancer, he sat at the head of the table and in that deep sonorous voice -- with the authority of one who has given up life's squabbles and centered his mind on the eternal -- he said: "There has been enough death and destruction. We have no right by our irresponsible actions to ruin the lives of our children, and our children's children." When he finished, no one even whispered a word of response. We resumed our work, and though we stretched that final day out 48 hours, we concluded the agreement.

I also remember the day in President Clinton's first year in office, when Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat had concluded the Oslo Accords and were to sign the agreements on the South Lawn of the White House. Just before leaving the Oval Office, President Clinton -- understanding the demands of the moment -- said to Yitzhak Rabin: "You and Chairman Arafat will have to shake hands." The Prime Minister truly looked pained. He wanted peace for the future. But would a handshake appear to forgive the past? He paused long in thought. But minutes later, he and Chairman Arafat sealed their agreement with a hand shake, and Yitzhak Rabin said in his remarks to the world: "You do not make peace with your friends."

President Clinton has quoted those words everywhere in the world he has urged people to make peace. To Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland. To the parties to the conflict in Burundi. To refugees returning to their homes in Kosovo. He told that story of Rabin to the Indian Parliament this spring, referring to the terrible costs of war and the imperative of dialogue with Pakistan. There in the legislative chamber of the world's most populous democracy, the story met with a murmur of voices, then applause. The wisdom and realism of Yitzhak Rabin's words struck home.

In all the peacemaking efforts I have seen, the greatest obstacles to a future of peace are the grievances of the past -- the searing memories of war; the heartbreaking sights of innocent suffering.

It is difficult to put aside the instinct ^{for} ~~to seek~~ revenge; it can feel like disloyalty to those who have suffered. But making peace is not forgetting past grievances; it is trying to prevent fresh grief from befalling our children. ~~it is trying to make sure the grievances don't perpetuate themselves.~~

The injustice suffered by both sides must be acknowledged by both sides. Those responsible for evil actions must be held accountable. But ~~the desire for justice cannot degenerate into a drive for revenge,~~ and those who seek through peace to redress all past grievances, are not seeking peace; they are still waging war.

Nelson Mandela, King Hussein, Yitzhak Rabin, and others like Vaclav Havel and Kim Dae Jung, Gandhi and Martin Luther King have understood this truth. But the existence of a handful of heroes is not a strategy for peace. ~~We cannot pin our hopes on a surge of courage.~~ We need to grasp the defining features of ^{the} ~~the~~ global age, and make them serve the cause of peace.

Nationhood and national sovereignty have served for centuries as unifying, stabilizing forces within society. They confer a common identity that builds bonds, advances progress, and eases cooperation among citizens. Today, however, the meaning of territorial boundaries is evolving. Goods, services, ideas, and people ~~are~~ move more freely across borders than ever before. ~~In many parts of the world, in western Europe for example, the role of borders as barriers is shrinking with a rise in cross border cooperation advancing prosperity, encouraging good will, and strengthening peace. Can the same thing happen in regions of greater strife? I believe it can. After all, the movement toward European integration immediately followed the most destructive war in human history.]~~

~~{As borders begin to function more as bridges than barriers. At the same time, the geography of~~
national security -- the link between land and national defense ~~once considered sacrosanct~~ -- also
is evolving. Weapons of mass destruction, long-range missiles, world-wide terrorist networks,
and global computer viruses are threats all nations face together and no nation can defeat on its
own. Security now depends less on the distance between neighbors than on the closeness
between neighbors. True security comes from being surrounded by partners, not walls.

By no means am I suggesting that the old threats have vanished, that sovereignty is not essential,
that we don't need armies to defend our borders, our values, and our lives. We do. But in the
tightly intertwined world of the global economy, it is harder than ever to win by making
someone else lose. Neighbors increasingly share the same fortunes. Regions tend to grow
economically, or shrink economically -- together. When they grow together, grievances are
lightened; the cost of confrontation rises, and so also do the incentives for maintaining peace.
~~Interdependence is worth promoting, cooperation is worth pursuing, for the sake of prosperity~~
~~and security, and for the sake of peace.~~

Here in the Holy Land, this historic drama for peace is playing itself out right now. ~~And it~~ is
perhaps the greatest challenge of peacemaking in the world. This is a place that more than any
other is defined by its past -- by its people's connection to their land; their traditions; their stories
of suffering, strife, and exile. And yet, as His Holiness Pope John Paul II showed the world so
movingly in his visit here this Spring, wholehearted devotion to one's own faith is perfectly
consistent with a devout respect for the faith of others.

In a land where two sides have competing claims -- but when a changing world opens new doors
of opportunity -- imagination must come to the aid of ~~tradition~~ ^{memory}. Through creativity and
compromise, both sides can and must find a way to honor the past, acknowledge suffering,
~~and~~ resolve competing claims, and ~~give~~ ^{best} the gift of peace to one another and their children.

Can we seize this moment? The answer is not waiting to be revealed; it is waiting to be created -- by the force of each of our actions. And we must act now. The stream of history flows endlessly onward. It will not wait. It will not return.

Many wise men across the centuries have prophesied that the world will never know an end of war. Yet, who is to say what is the limit of human achievement, or what is the endpoint of moral development? The existence of war over millennia is merely evidence peace is difficult, not proof that peace is impossible.

If we are ever to replace the anticipation of war with the expectation of peace, we must be able to do it here, in this land, at this time. And why not here in this land? The teachings from this land gave us our ideas of human dignity and social justice. The prophets of this land gave us our hope for progress in human history. The people of this land gave us our proof that impossible goals can become possible through generations of single minded struggle.

The inheritors of this Holy Land can then -- if any can -- come together in a moment of choice to change the world -- and turn hostility to prosperity, suffering into healing, and war into peace.

###

PLEASE PASS TO SRB ASAP. HE IS EXPECTING IT BY THE TIME HE WAKES UP.

CLEARED BY TOM R.

SANDY:

Attached is a revised version of your speech. As you will see, it focuses on the urgency and the possibility of an Israeli-Palestinian peace. Given the current circumstances in Israel, I believe it is the message that we need to convey.

I have discussed it with Dennis, but he has not seen it. He will look at it more closely tomorrow, as will Martin.

→ Re: Tom

Feb 17 a lot. Some questions:

① Is it too long 20-25 min [?]
for what we expect [15 min?].
If so, need to cut

② Is it worth repeating
at AIPAC next week?
Would it do some good?
If you think so, Got,
AIPAC might explore
w/ Howard et al.
(NOT MON)

Samuel R. Berger
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Plenary Session of the Board of Governors
Tel Aviv University
May 21, 2000

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Presidium, Governors of the University and, of course, President Rabinowich: Let me begin by thanking President Rabinowich for his kind words of introduction. Itamar Rabinowich is greatly respected, not only in his country, but also in ours, as a scholar and a statesman, whose knowledge of his region, whose agile diplomacy -- not to mention his skill as a raconteur -- have given enduring momentum to the cause of peace in the Middle East. During his three years in Washington as Israel's Ambassador to the United States, ~~President Clinton and~~ *benefited from* his wisdom and advice. I would like to thank Itamar for his extraordinary service to Israel, to the United States, and to our unique partnership.

Peace seldom speaks for itself. ~~One of the~~ ^Q ~~most common mistakes~~ ^{is to assume that the argument for peace is self-evident.} It is not. For those who enjoy it, its benefits are taken for granted. For those who do not, its benefits are viewed as distant and illusory, ^{not worth} ~~unworthy of~~ the hard compromises it necessarily entails. My goal today is to talk about the imperative of a comprehensive peace between Israel and its neighbors and particularly between Israelis and Palestinians, how I believe it can be achieved, and what the United States is prepared to do to help you reach that goal.

But before I discuss the path ahead, I would like to describe the journey already taken, for it is in itself a remarkable story of peacemaking, and an instructive one.

Rarely is one offered the privilege to witness -- let alone to participate in -- the resolution of one of history's great human conflicts. For the resolution takes far longer than the onset, and there is a momentum to conflict that ^(The desire for peace) ~~will power alone~~ often fails to overcome. And yet, make no mistake: that ^(The painful process of peace) ~~is precisely~~ what we are experiencing. ~~Over the past half century, the~~ ^{and uneven} ~~region has entered a process that is taking it~~ ^{From the era of} great wars -- 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973 -- ^(The region has entered) ~~to an era of~~ engagement and peacemaking -- Camp David, Madrid, and then

hardly complete but
~~It is *irreversible* and *not* *reversible* but~~
Oslo. ~~And~~ it is producing profound changes in the regional landscape long considered unthinkable.

It is worth taking a step back to contemplate these changes, for distance can sharpen what proximity blurs. Israel and Egypt are at peace. Israel and Jordan are at peace. Israelis and Palestinians, step by difficult step, have been constructing ~~an~~ *beyond the credible* edifice of peace. And, what once ~~was~~ *unimaginable* - peace between Israel and Syria and between Israel and Lebanon ~~no~~ *unimaginable.* longer ~~is~~ Consider this simple fact: with the exception of Iraq and Libya, every single Arab state has maintained or is maintaining some form of contact with the state of Israel -- whether through the international donor effort for the Palestinians, regional anti-terrorism efforts, the multilateral track, the Middle East and North Africa summits, or direct negotiations.

that this change is
I say this neither to claim that ~~we have produced an~~ irreversible ~~change~~ nor ~~to claim~~ that this is a satisfactory peace -- ~~we have not~~, and it is not. The goal must be a genuine reconciliation that triggers a change in attitudes, and behavior, and personal relations -- *all of which* *by* *a large* distance *is* *separated* from a signed agreement. And there still remains far too much violence and bloodshed to justify either

self-satisfaction or complacency. But I say this as a useful and necessary reminder of the path already traveled and of the fact that those on both sides of the Arab-Israeli conflict who have struggled for peace have established a foundation upon which we can build.

The challenge today is to secure, deepen and broaden the gains of the past several decades by achieving a comprehensive peace. The last six months have seen intensive efforts to reach an agreement between Israel and Syria, and that door remains open. Neither Israel, nor Syria, nor the United States can afford to give up. But today, and in the months ahead, we also have a historic opportunity that we must not allow to slip away -- a chance to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian problem, the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is on that endeavor that I wish to focus my remarks.

Some may question the relevance of the Palestinian track. They will argue that the Palestinians present no genuine military threat. That they can be contained. That the familiar cost of today's cease-fire is preferable to the uncertain cost of tomorrow's ~~just~~ peace.

I profoundly disagree. The Palestinian issue still resonates deeply from one end of the Arab world to the other. It feeds and will continue to feed the passions and the emotions of millions of Arabs. It embodies questions of identity, existence and security whose resolution is vital to broadening the orbit of regional peace. An Israeli-Palestinian peace would help to dry up the emotional and ideological well-spring of the Arab-Israeli conflict, thereby ^{significantly} delegitimizing Arab hostility against Israel and the U.S. In short, the Arab-Israeli conflict -- which grew out of the struggle between Israelis and Palestinians -- can only be resolved once that struggle is fairly, and permanently, put to rest.

But there is more. For those who believe that the situation can endure as it is, I will say this: the Israeli Palestinian conflict knows no status quo. It cannot find ^a ~~its~~ stable equilibrium. The alternative to a peaceful compromise is not the status quo, it is something very different and, I am convinced, far worse. For the condition that produced hostility in the past remains current to this day. It is what I call the problem of proximity, the physical interconnection between Israelis and Palestinians that, in the absence of a fundamental resolution of their conflict, is bound to create further friction and further violence. If nothing else, the events of

this past week were the most recent tragic reminder of this reality.

Paradoxically, however, this is both the curse and blessing of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. For the tragedy that awaits in the event of inaction also constitutes the greatest incentive for immediate action.

All of which brings me to this conclusion: a peace agreement between Israelis and Palestinians is ~~an urgent necessity~~; it must be a lasting, comprehensive agreement, ~~not a partial or~~ interim one; it must finalize all claims, ~~from both sides~~; it must, in short, signify in words and in deeds the end of a one-hundred-year conflict; *and it must happen soon.*

So, where do the parties go from here? How can this necessary peace be achieved? This is, of course, no simple question for what makes resolution of the conflict so urgent also is what makes it so difficult: the weight of history, which has left us with two people living together, inextricably linked yet separated by distinct versions of history, different faiths, and the clash of conflicting yet equally intense claims to territory. [The promised land has become, so to speak, the much too promised land.]

Rob:
This strikes me
as a bridge
too far. A:
we really want
to take on
the ~~promised~~ land.

The challenge, in other words, is to find a way to honor each side's historical, religious and territorial claims — for there can be no solution that ignores or belittles them — while

~~overcoming the obstacles they place on the path to peace~~ *based on our experience over the past years, I would like to suggest*

(touch briefly upon) a few guiding principles ^③ that I will touch upon briefly.

First, while there certainly is no easy answer, the only good answer will come from Israelis and Palestinians themselves. The decisions they face are the most fateful of all, and any outside party, however well-intentioned, cannot make them in their place.

Second, reaching an agreement will require creative thinking.

Where two parties living in such proximity must disentangle their conflicting claims, yet continue to live and to work side by side, conventional approaches based ^{only} on rigid notions of territory and sovereignty and security ~~cannot succeed~~ *may not be adequate.*

And indeed, there is no shortage of unconventional tools, for the world in which we are living is experiencing a sea change. Old notions of boundaries have little currency in an era of globalization and growing interdependence where goods and services and people move freely and where the internet is

becoming our most familiar mode of communication. So too, traditional concepts of security are fast becoming outmoded in an age where the greatest threats transcend borders and include long-range missiles, terrorism, narcotics, disease, or environmental disasters. In short, by using creative approaches, a zero-sum strategy based on an imbalance of power can give way to a win-win strategy based on a balance of interests in which both sides' needs are met.

Third, reaching an agreement will require visionary and courageous leadership . . . leadership capable of breaking the current consensus in order to create a new one . . . leadership capable of building a powerful constituency for peace by making the argument for peace. As I said at the outset, peace does not speak for itself. It must be given voice by people who can describe the end they are pursuing as well as the alternative they are striving to avoid. Israelis and Palestinians are blessed with such leaders, as Prime Minister Barak and Chairman Arafat have shown time and again.

And they are blessed with one other important ingredient, which is President Clinton's tireless commitment to the cause of peace in the Middle East. Which brings me to the role of the United States.

I will start from the very simple, but very real proposition..... that the United States has a crucial interest in regional stability, for what happens in the Middle East has a direct bearing on our security and our prosperity.

Our interest is also based on our special relationship with Israel -- rooted in history; founded on common interests; sustained by shared values. To strengthen Israel's security is to protect our own -- which is why our commitment is iron-clad and everlasting. At the same time, we have learned from history that a key to peacemaking is ^{the} strong relationship between our two countries. For the strength of our relationship has both demonstrated to Israel's adversaries the futility of war and given the Israeli people the self-confidence to make peace. So the fact is this: we will always stand by Israel as it takes risks for peace and we will do so with renewed vigor in an era when it faces new threats.

For all these reasons, Israelis and Palestinians should feel secure in the knowledge that there is no greater priority for this Administration and there is no greater priority for this President than to bring about a just, lasting and comprehensive peace.

In seeking today to make the case for peace, I harbor no illusion about the difficulties it will entail. To solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is to address the most profound and wrenching existential questions -- about beliefs, about self-identity and about security. Nor can one ignore a past that is fraught with pain and suffering.

But I would like to venture the following thought. For the past several months, but particularly for the past several weeks, the United States has been talking to both sides, listening attentively to their needs and aspirations. Based on what we have heard, based on what we know, I believe there is not a single issue -- not the most complex, not the most sensitive -- that cannot be resolved. It will take imagination. It will take vision. It will take strength. [And it will take leaders with a keen sense of what it will mean for the two sides to reach peace, and what it will mean if they do not.]

*Spends like
Mild
rebuke
to Barak*

Let me close today by reading the last lines of a letter from the President of the United States to President Weizmann of Israel:

12

"I trust that the present uncertainty, with its burdensome consequences, will soon be eliminated. We will do all we can to help by encouraging direct negotiations between the parties looking toward a prompt peace settlement."

~~President~~
This was a letter from Harry Truman to President Chaim Weizman.
It was written over 50 years ago.

We have worked so long for peace. We have never been closer.
Let us seize this chance. Thank you.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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001. notes	re: President's trip to Nigeria (5 pages)	n.d.	P5
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Thomas Rosshirt)
OA/Box Number: 4020

FOLDER TITLE:

Nigeria

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0703-F
jm623

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NIGERIA

Nigerians looking to POTUS
message

- transition - takes a long time
- suggestion - joint session upper house, lower house

POTUS can deliver messages not preachy

Nigeria is most imp. country in Africa - monitor

Obasanjo is best leader - can meet mil. + civil
lot of neg. coming out on Obasanjo

talk to nation about diff. dem. presents
for it to come across - draw parallels w/ our own develop.

POTUS talk about American tribulation - think
in terms of Nigeria evol. tow. democracy -
could be major intervention.

POTUS can talk from losing side of civil war.
If he says US is so great - it will fail.

"talks about Southern exp. being a minority
Nigerians fight civil war everywhere - in bars in
Parliament.

Take it back to first 20-30 yrs of American experience
sectional conflict - draw parallels - Nig. love it
they believe only parallels might be American

"How to be a Nigerian" Tony ~~Anahara~~
Ena Laro

draws parallels betw. ^{1st} 20-30 yrs of US + Nigeria

To miss legislative jt. session would be a problem & miss
"reconciliation".

2 days \$130 m people - its inadequate.

issue: what you going to do to help Obasanjo.

Obasanjo needs to say: here's what spec. rel. w/ Am. means to Nigeria

Obasanjo problems:

- river state

- Islamic law

- military issue

and to Nigeria in Africa 2nd only to S. Afr.

? - what does that partner w/ US do for Nigeria?

* working - Direct Air link.

Nigeria is moving into camp of countries working to fight corruption

Google talk to Gato Fdu on digital divide issues.

initial response positive

DoD engaged in Nigeria - more than any place in Africa

he want to highlight Nigerias role in peacekeeping

issue: civilianization of the military.

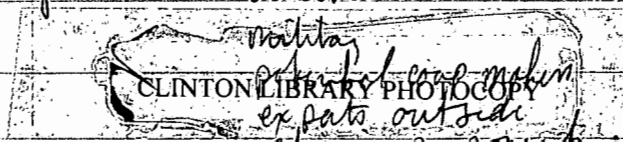
issue: Nigeria needs to be seen as important - equal to So Afr.

Obasanjo is struggling and succeed w/o our plan.

argument - framework to come out of these 2 days - a plan

send same people to Lagos we send to Bonn et al.

subdivide Nigeria - business



Nigerians have sense of pride + self-worth rivaled
only about Americans + Chinese.

issue of peacekeeping extremely explosive in country now.

- This is truly strategic - on our national security interest
Cheney & host of them were working w/ Nigeria on.

PO TV: needs to get ^{that} message here.

we want to ~~do~~ ~~promote~~ raise profile of Africa trade bill

Brooks: - we have to highlight ahead of time points

Obasanjo's role, importance in Africa.

message out ahead of time why Nigeria is imp. to US.

Shelia Jackson has ^{other} ~~other~~ ~~other~~ know Nigeria that where her
voters are - get folks to talk about why Nigeria is
important.

Obasanjo fund. problem is managing diversity

Ebo & Hausa Yoruba need to work together -
if they ~~do~~ ~~do~~ that; they don't need our aid.

(Diversity)

Ebo in this country w/ Ph.D are so tribalistic ...

Gayle - A cynical press will do: ① what it costs

② what's going wrong in Nigeria

→ we need you to work w/ us on this,
considering oped piece on the importance of the trip to Nigeria

What events are coming up for summogals

Gayle - get the spread out beyond Washington,

Washington held could set up an event USCBM,
SRB at CTR.

- priv audience of religious leaders
- business people
- legislators
- big speech to nation

If there is a coup -

there are 3 bad things that will happen

- cut aid
- NGOs
- return to pariah status

comment: "he cannot stress it enough enough"

Every Coast - no one condemned it stronger &
or faster than Nigeria.

David Dickinson + John Apple caught something -

African Diplomatic Corps might do something,
to raise the profile + support the trip.

Corporate piece? -

The Delta has had with surface when POTD is there.

Delta thing very much on the mind of the Nigerian -
maybe POTD could suggest - a discrete Delta package -
that will go beyond the 2 days

"The roads schools ~~with~~ are being destroyed in
the Delta - everywhere he goes hell face this.

"We've had similar problems in Louisiana, etc - can we
bring our people together and discuss.

Talk about this trip w/ Ebo, Yoruba, Hausas.

a little private off-the-record meeting.

ask for recommendations.

Yoruba, Hausa, Sbo in the room together

that's the heart of the problem.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	To President Clinton from Thomas J. Vallely. Subject: Trip to Vietnam (3 pages)	11/06/2000	P5
002. notes	re: Experts on Vietnam (14 pages)	n.d.	P5
003. memo	To President Clinton from Samuel Berger and Stephanie Streett. Subject: Themes for your trip Vietnam / Discussion of key issues (11 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Thomas Rosshirt)
OA/Box Number: 4020

FOLDER TITLE:

[Vietnam] [2]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0703-F
jm624

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

virginia

EXPERTS

SRB -

balance b/w past present future is sharp -
tried to sketch balance -

Past - not just balance - how you deal w/ 3 dimensions -
respect fully for all sides -

Present mixed bag - - change v resistance

Kanow - do think Vietnam level -

in terms of Am. exp. V. war one of most
traumatic in our history helps close a chapter
turning point first POTUS trip except for John F. Kennedy

SRB - we're not closing a chapter; we're opening one.
don't think we're abandoning

Kanow - V. name don't want to talk re: war

V. name's lady - 2,000 - buy up
V. name lost people unaccounted for in Am. war
+ Indochina war -

they were searching for remains near
Binh Dien Phu - very imp. to be able to
bury their dead

Bec. his going to Univ - $\frac{1}{2}$ of V. pop
under age of 21 should say
ack weight of past - look to future

Pop - $\frac{2}{3}$ of people have (in US) no sense of war

SP - Stomach - they don't want to talk abt war

"You represent freedom to these people -

I watched vets fight thru viet nam - going to
check for Am. soldiers is way to fight
for freedom

young women have to go to wear trad. dress
so wear baseball caps
can't teach war in Vietnam bet. for v. war

first trip of post-pres. life

Symbol of freedom - ~~as~~
POTUS answer 7's.

VN guy (Lincoln - address peace of trans
Kennedy

well placed to say s. of SV - NVN reconciled / which
allow people to

"Call everybody brave" Peacemaking
betw N + South

Reconcile betw do & Co -
pay tribute to all dead on both sides

Civil war parallel — econ growth help heal wounds

Future —
Party Congress next March
Party Congress is deattached
Party rhetoric has increased

"For VA to be equal part"

(ind. jud
rule of law
based right)

over the 1982 Gov on Civ & Pol Rights
demand Party member calling
for freedom

understand concept

Support them

only 85,000 i-net subscribers
only server gov controlled blockage
to access

POTUS — we want tangible progress
on rights your people
want it

SPB to prosper you can't be econ creature +
politically suppressed

○

VN think they can't open econ, close pol.

VN
guy

- Address VN security concern -
make clear - we are not inter.
in peaceful evolution - we are
a stabilizing force

talk of future) VN in ASEAN

we want to see Asia secure, prosp stable, free

Press freedom

PM can censor anything -
need to promote press freedom helps on corruption.

Footo

VS has stipulated tough terms on normalizing

we've said - no of Orange, no interference you making
- we can't talk about their recon what -

VN granted us MFN
we have not granted them ~~to them~~ MFN) inequality

Were ones we signed BTA but
couldn't get it through

Talk about what happens next in econ normalization

Thurs taking 50-60 companies.

Note: we're here to help you on integration

SRB - Yes, we have set the bar on bilat issues
you suggest we not raise internal reforms -

POUS - should offer TA in helping VN reforms
judicial reform.

Karnou - don't - pay tribute to VN in America
great contributions & be there
functioning in a free society.

Vallenty - VN looking forward to trip -
POUS should try to understand how he can help

Fears

- 1) China - going to throw Pearl
- 2) globalization - BIT only a chance
- 3) democracy -

How does POUS make successful trip -
make VN leaders more comfortable w/
their fears,

ASEAN is over with. They know that

They have instability problem - they need global to deal w/ them.

VN has fewer

* Get Valtchyp: you choose your level of growth
They're not comfortable w/ world, they're afraid
FOCUS should reassure them

China - how to talk -

acknowledge you understand - they have alliance
w/ someone they don't like.

They don't want to hear

Don't bring Alliance questions in - don't say
we want VN in ASEAN to keep ASEAN stronger

2) Global

VN could grow rapidly if chooses not to -
can survive w/o being successful.

VN - suffered less in F Crisis than any other
but it is growing less

Don't have

Their investment

FDI is 80% ↑ from 1998
that is 3x ↑

main engine - allows them to have a private sector - how do you say that in their view of their future

most important - say to be Kha Phien bite bullet on i-net; banking, business

I-net is as important to port sector

I-net is reduced by complete fire wall

I-net

problem 1) VN is to do every thing wrong, grow at 5%
3 huge capital flows

- need more info

corruption in ~~growth~~ extraction foreign aid. High
letting market make decision way to get rid of corrup
they know they can be for for
growing nation in Asia - don't
want

Trang Do - leading dissident in VN - General
calling for big changes, demo rights

Valley - Catholic church - VN leaders understand
it is oppression as in Eastern Europe. Buddhism
doesn't have Rome to protect

issues - more room for Cath Church to operate.

Pope wanted to go to Land Van where Virgin
appeared - was denied

Praise work of unified Buddhist church to do
flood relief

Rome can protect Catholics - you can speak + leave

VN - heavily Buddhist - must say s. about both

SRB how deal w/ pol. reform in public?

It's a skilful way to deal w/ it.

Pop - talk about green revolution - make
best fed + big rice exporter -
made it work - praise them for

S. Val - do in industry what you did in
agriculture

you can say, ruling law + etc

1990 - 2000 for went from 76 - 20%
they privatize - if they didn't make
they would grow

VN
woman

Hold up VS - ~~it's a model~~ w/o saying you should,
do this, talk to electrons

I see current govt - repaying SVN debt to US -
it can be used for benefits

Some kind of carrot as well as hectoring speech

Foot - goals of VN - good relation w/ all napa
POTUS last leadn

They have said they want to integrate globally
they want to integrate globally

work it in their context

Pace must increase.

(Frame in
term of what
they say
they want)

They are afraid bec. they are not sure
they can compete. I think our banks
need to be protected just a few more
years.

worried that VN will get lost that they will
disappear

SRB - most nations - lose their cultural
identity,

Foot - genuine fear there will be no more
vietnamese companies

encourage growth rate

They can make transition b/c. They are
hard working + entrepreneurial.

Jamison - lot of fear + anxiety - they're
not sure how it will work out

Conway: "It's not in our interest for them
to be weak + poor."

Emphasize what is shared -
can publicly talk about rule of law -
as a people - what people want is respect
+ reassurance we're not out to
get them

Big issues for people is education + care.
Good if POTUS gives sense - we wish
that for them

We wish them well.

Kanou - so much suspicion + fear - got sold
out even by allies. so suspicious of
outsiders but need them.

W-Bank poverty reduction plan for VN calls
on NGOs

San - you're stated reducing poverty as a goal -
open to investment
allow NGOs to flourish

Pike

W. generally making to turn
Politburo is aware of all problems
great restiveness + dissent
political, economic

leadership - unless you can show them ways to change
that is rich free -

Politburo - we should do this; it's too risky.

Don't see them moving to policy based on pressure -
their whole approach to restiveness - cool it down

Worst floods in 40 years - Ho Kha Phieu says
"you take care of it"

SRB next 6 mos - leadership?

first old masters - french-trained old gen
jungle fighters - they solve by max unsustained
application of force
they made a mess

Some have said it's so hard to govern

Nat'l Assembly

move by Politburo to give more decision making
authority to assembly -

now approach is to let them rewrite law

You can compete
You and the

— rice,
+ success

say to Politburo — you're giving them power —
we can take it back

"so you can't"

Politburo — what they don't want is instability —
fear of rioting what happened in Hanoi
they chunder down + hope for change.

to perceived need in Hanoi's leadership for change we see.

Need to pitch something as risk-free — rewards high!

Polpham — tell them risks aren't as big as you think.

talk of success of Viet Kien — you are
good enough — spelling Bees.

In South + countryside they are closer to rule of law than they think.) someone disagrees

SRB — what are vn role models — things most proud of —

Foot — what should we take out of respect?
agriculture, rice, coffee.

Valley — Int'l Math Olympiad —

one of best physicists in the world —

Fourth fear — they won't try —

one common fear is they won't try hard enough.

— Tchaikovsky guy was ~~divided~~

Footi — risk was — got just agreed to BJA —
their fear is overblown —

SRB This move from solch to reunion

is s. about Vietnam —
let me ask —

What's the quality that so transfixes as or the country.

Karnou —

SRB one dimension

VN fascinating because of intertwining of cultures.

Popkin mentions T. Roosevelt

SRB — beyond Carl's at VN as reflect of us.

VN say strategically, economically they
mean nothing

2 romantic traditions —

one of books they read Les Misérables —
in their mind it's their fight for freedom
Hanoi is part of religion

They don't understand — poverty of Europe
created America.

East-West clash in Viet Nam

know no apology

SRB - I will involve you

To apologize is to undo what we've done
be a prisoner of that huber,

SRB - we set out to do that 8 years ago
we did ~~less~~ we kept our eyes on center

(SRB) - rich speech material -

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. notes	re: Vietnam speech; Phone No.'s (Partial); Personal (Partial) (61 pages)	n.d.	P5, P6/b(6)
002a. notes	re: Vietnam speech; Phone No. (Partial) (7 pages)	n.d.	P5, P6/b(6)
002b. note	Phone No. (Partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
002c. note	re: Vietnam speech (1 page)	n.d.	P5
003a. briefing paper	re: Preparation for the Vietnam trip (3 pages)	10/10/2000	P5
003b. minutes	re: Internal briefing for human rights, religious, and service community (4 pages)	10/20/2000	P5
003c. minutes	re: Internal Vietnam briefing for the Vietnamese American community (6 pages)	10/13/2000	P5
003d. minutes	re: Internal Vietnam briefing for the Veteran community (4 pages)	10/10/2000	P5
003e. minutes	re: Internal Vietnam briefing for business community (3 pages)	10/04/2000	P5
004. note	Personal (Partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
005. note	Phone No.'s (Partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Thomas Rosshirt)
OA/Box Number: 4020

FOLDER TITLE:

[Vietnam] [3]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0703-F
jm233

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Research Steps:

- * Read Binder
- * Read Osius book
- * talk to Tracy Thiele - (w) 647 7292; (h) [P6(b)(6)] [001]
- * Talk to Greg Hicks state, 647 4023
- * Talk to David Monk in Hanoi monkdb@state.gov
- * Larry Greer - POW-MIA Pentagon
- * Someone from Vietnamese American community
- * Someone from American community in Vietnam.
- * Find out who at state will be the translator.
- * Bush remarks in 1991 on Vietnam.
- * Alan Langlin, state dept vietnam desk, 647 1699
- * Thanh Vuong, interpreter for Ambassador
- David Monk: Office (direct): 84-4-831-4602
Mobile: [P6(b)(6)] Home: [P6(b)(6)] (I'm rarely home that early, usually in the office)
- Neil Jamieson. He will be happy to speak with
 - you. Call him at home in Virginia at [P6(b)(6)]
 - David Christian - John Kerry - [P6(b)(6)]
 - Dr. Pham Van Thuyet (referred by Tracy Thiele - [P6(b)(6)] pthuyet@yahoo.com)
Too-WET.
 - Joseph Duemer, DEEMer fulbright grant in Hanoi. - [P6(b)(6)] - American poet.
 - get the video peterson talks about - video on recovery. commander Kevin Ruce - 703 602 2102. at defense POW/MIA office.
 - Laura Efurd - interest group issues
 - Christine Stanek - interest group issues
 - Tom, can't find her direct number. My poc is Jim Caswell, his number is [P6(b)(6)] I will get you Kay's direct number first thing in the morning. Randy

Vallely --- vietnam education foundation: science exchanges. this two parts there is the foundation. vietname educuational foundaiton. S. 3241 - trying to get the White House to put it on a spending bill. kerry kerrey peterson called podesta. SRB supportive. It's modeled. memo from kerry to SRB. Bill is self-explanatory.

There is a better school, better venue.

context of current day vietnam.

VN has big problem. when it follows all the wrong policies economicmal and public it still does okay. it shouldn't be doing as well as it is. reason it does well, it is a pretty open to trade, smuggling foreigners. a lot of inflows from ove seas 2 billion remittances from abroad.

southern part they get fed by transfers. they get fed by foreign aid. The current document that they have --- they're calling for 7 percent gorwth in teir party congress document. we have

written a paper. if you grow at 7 and pop grows at 2, income growth is only 5 percent a year. with that, you will catch Thailand in 60 years. that may be okay, but it is not modernization. what is it that US – what is the benefit to US and VN of having better relations. to us not much expect the past. to VN it's – the size of the US economy. the growth in the US economy is last two years is greater than the GDP of China. China is VN's new sort of ally, not big compared to US. They needed the BTA. Important thing – trade agreement. this is really important point to drive home to President.

BTA doesn't make VN successful. IT gives them the opportunity. POINT ONE

POINT Two – what's more important than BTA. huge deal for VN because it needs to create 1.4 million jobs a year, can't do it without trade agreement. doesn't make you successful, but allow private sector to create those jobs. big hurdle for them.

modernization – to be modern, you need two things: you need capital. you need knowledge and when the two come together, you create modern countries, technology. VN has what a lot of countries don't have, the ability to create lots of knowledge. that was the idea behind the VN education foundation. idea: to get VN's science capacity back to where it was when it was the best of the science countries in the Soviet system the super country in Soviet science, they have a base in science that is 30 years old. They have some of the best young physicists and mathematicians in the world. most countries don't have that. can't find that kind of raw and developed talent.

science is the creation of knowledge. trade agreement is the way to create capital. creating enough jobs to bet capital. to really be successful, you need knowledge. they need that.

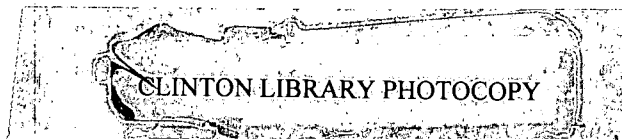
neither the capital or the knowledge is available without the internet. they, for all practical purposes don't have internet. the actual tech to get internet they have fiber optic cable, have capacity for more bandwidth than they allow. they have one hundred firewall.

big fiber optic comes into country but they stop it and read it all. they take a big pipe that they own put it through small pipe. for them take a half an hour what takes us a second. China takes a sample of email who's downloading what. VN has to move to sampling. Lots of people screaming about this in Vietnam. It's an issue.

links to the rest of the world. still need the highway. The internet speed has to be similar to your neighbors. It can be slowed.

VN is building a new north south highway. stupid highway. they have one they should repave it. they're building a new one. ho chi minh hwy. complete old economy highway. you need a new highway, you need a new information highway. (they will get it).

signs of change in Vietnam:



they do well in international math olympics. a physicist – good will hunting – assoc. prof. at colombia. in the movie, there is a janitor – Matt Damon, he is a wizz at math, the whiz at math, is a vietnamese kid.

Good will hunting, fictional. you have the same story in vietnamese math. boat kid. his name is Ling. He's not a janitor, he's a refugee. He is at Columbia. a famous pianist won the Tchaikovsky.

go back to – communist party econmoic strategy – which gets them to where thailand is today in sixty years. graduates, where are they going?

if we're going to grow, be thailand in 60 years. we're not going to create enough jobs to handle these graduate. 1.4 million jobs a years. at this growth, they'll create a third of those. a country chooses its rate of growth. the ight policies could have better opportuniti8es.

what's going to happen to them. they're going to be underemployed. they're going to go to forewigna countreis. signapor.,thailand. come to US on hi-teach. thing.

create sicene, they don't have an internal demand for scienc,e that comes from developing industriest that are competitive in the world.

tone: what' the problemw tih the trip: VN doesn't know what they want clinton. he does'nt know why he's going.

VN are afriad. this sis country that defeatst he american empire, they are afraid of globalaiotn and american, they don't know if they can compete. they don't know how goo dhthey are, they don't understand their own strenght. if the President went int Le Kha Phieu. Look: we're not trying to hurt you. take your ally, take you away from china, we just want you to do well.

they're afriad of the world. insecurity is the word I would say is the problem. if he can overcome that the trip is a success. if we get them to see that we wish them success, the trip is a success.

very significant thing to help us understand how nervous. Jiang to Phnom Penh the day we land in HaNoi. He's going to Phnom Penh to say to VN: don't be too friendly.

McCain incident – in VN last year after the election was not an accidnet. it was provoked. I wouldn't say that in a meeting. McCain had his son Jack in a prison. FM spokeswoman called mccain a war criminal. they didn't' do that by mistake, they did it because they hadn't sorted out what they want.

They were really unsure.

globalizationl oper4ating system of the world. we don't have any choice. the kids in the audience. they're good at reality, but they're slow at reality and slowness can be death. fear and can they go fast enough to get those kids – if they don't get the kids a job, there's a political

liability. lead to discontent that will end regimes. tension in VN is in the North. growing too slowly. saigon. it's a different country.

Most successful – once the most successful company in Vietnam. Nike – valley says plants are beautiful workers are treated well. Nike's in southern part of vietnam. they probably get twice as much. a third of the workers come from northern provinces.

places around these plants are also successful. Niketown, most successful part of VN. all sorts of foreign company. most successful sector is foreign-invested sector.

status quo minus; status quo plus, or leap forward.

only leaping will deal with the faces of those kids in the audience US has to help you leap. if you want us to we'll help you leap.

if institutional memory of – what happens there, the past is very complicated, 2.5 million people were killed. we're responsible for part of it.

first trip – I don't think publicly he has to deal with the past. – there needs to be some way to talk about these issues that gets us back.

human rights – he certainly should say:

So much happened there that to walk in there and do the Asia Watch thing is a bad idea.

Vietnamese have a painter who's a great artist Do Kwan Em. – I can feed ex and airline magazine with a story about him. He may be the best portrait artist in the world.

Vietnam visual art is good stuff.

David Dappas – he's the one who wrote the paper. We run half of the Fulbright program in Vietnam.

Brian Quinn: he would know more about culture.

All societies that have tension in them create better art and literature.

leaders are insecure.

kids would like to hear: some version: look: couple years ago I went to tech university, gave a talk about science. I talked to a 1000 1500 undergraduates in engineering and science, "When are you going to give us scholarships for science?" I said "never.."

however, if you wanted one, it would be easy. you can get a scholarship on the internet. if you can get the GRE score we think and contact Cal Tech directly, they might give it to you. But no one will ever give you one.

I think the students would like to be connected. a sense globalaiton seems to me to be the only hopeful thing they could have.

they are not going to say I want to protect the original P6(b)(6) dress.

they want to be modern, but they hav a hard time. Ha Noi is a village. it's too complicated. He knows – Pete Pcterson would say: “Quinn is the best – he knows everything.”

W. make it more humble. The skill is how to you take the conomic and militay power of american or turn it into influence to help sometoby else. after second War, the US dominated the world not by making Iowa iportant. it made german and japan and europe important.

POTUS: we have everytyhing. our survival as a nation depends on you doing better than you are.

super JFK quote: YOU can't just make your house the big house, you've got to let someone else's house get big.

they have a form of confucianism. family worship.

there's a very famous vietnamese poet – names NGUYEN DU NWIN-zoo

book KIM VAN KIEU

There is a long and very good introduction in the Yale version. The guy who did it Alex Woodside.

I used it a little bit, giving a talk about friedman's book. since Kim Van Kieu is written in chinese characters. if you can't strengthen it with other cultures.

this is the epic poem of vietnam. It is more like the Odyssey. It's more like Homer. Homeric.

Joke in vietnam: protest in hell – europeans got to admin. of hell. we're compaining want justice. we're offended at your treatment of the vietnamese no curfew locks, taketheir privileges away or give us them. If one vn tries to leave the others will pull them down.

jealousy – biggest problem in vietnam.

It's not a big issues, it's a southern issue. a family issue. if a viet kieu comes back swaggering, he can't get anywhere.

The big issue in Viet Kieu is money. largest capital.

third speed in this speech. globalization is going to take maybe more than we have. book out "culture matters" what do you need besides globalization and connection to be successful. you need culture, need some other things in the deal.

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we've never had a fulbright who didn't go home. They love home; it's a little more of a village. it might be part of the problem.

student is not super happy. understands that the gov't is having trouble modernization. get info - they have tons of newspapers. stuff gets through censors. a lot of reading. stories and culture things. picture of a newspaper stand in vietnam is very colorful.

magazines about everything.

students: you should get the letter from the senators. it has in it some ways to handle this.

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Most famous vietnamese poem. There's scholar who knows a lot about this poem. alexander woodside. He's probably - used to be at Harvard. woman we've invited of the meeting. prog. of vietnamese students "she doesn't know much - she's no alex woodside"

He's at Univ of British Columbia." call him up. Yale Univ Press version of this book. If POTUS knows about this poem, and handles it well, huge hit. Poem - written in prose, a story of a woman named KIM with tragedies. she in one sense is vietnam.

shakespeare of Vietnam.

Univ. of British Columbia - Alex Woodside -- wrote a super-important book about Vietnam.

Tom Vallely - says - read the introduction before you call him.

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P6/(b)(6)

Memo from Kerry to SRB on details of legislation.

All you need to know that foreign direct investment is 80% less than it used to be.

early 1990s, more enthusiasm than good judgment. anyone that judged would not have done it. because of asia financial crisis. central planning died, but what also died was an asia directed capitalism. this is what Japan uses and what S. Korea used to use. gov't decides where the capital goes. now only credit worthiness and rates of return decide whether they get investment.

where does investment go

you tear away the barriers allow the world to invest in your future

it will flow in.

Asia financial crisis was an important and positive event for Asia. It strengthened Asia because it takes away the old system. Ironically that's why investment in Vietnam is 80 off.

that's a good thing. When Singapore or Taiwan where banking system were already using system using creditworthiness not gov't direct capital they didn't get hurt.

Thailand now foreign investment three times what it was before the crisis. Vietnam hasn't gone through the reforms it needs to do to get the capital flowing. Niketown has different rules.

what is it in the Vietnamese culture that makes them not succeed. David Marr, former marine, intelligence officer. [REDACTED] professor at Australia National University. read an article on this.

Joseph Duemer --

riff:

Vietnamese Americans are very prosperous. What is the difference between VNA and VN in VN -- none. They have the same intelligence, diligence, energy, and endurance and entrepreneurial spirit. There is only one thing they have more of -- freedom. That freedom allows them to give the full expression of their talents.

JFK once asked about happiness. Definition of happiness of the Greeks. Full use of your powers along lines of excellence. Only freedom can give you the full use of your powers. (reassurance, you're doing the right thing -- reassurance, not exhort).

All men are created equal, they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Ho Chi Minh cribbing from Thomas Jefferson opening the Declaration of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. dated September 2nd 1945.

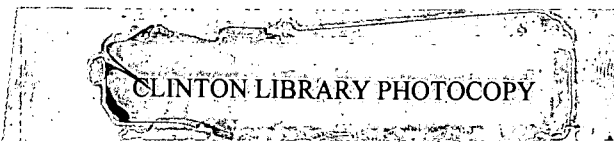
Find Confucian statement or Vietnamese proverb that says the same thing.

The human resources of Vietnam are known around the world. There are few who would not want to invest here if they simply knew the rules, knew they would be honored, knew the competition would be fair and not tilted against them, that there was a level playing field between private companies and state-owned enterprises

Also riff:

dependence, independence, interdependence. progression.

independence means ability to be on your own, make your own decisions without consulting, to act in your own interests without consulting or begging the approval of an outsider who does not



more direct investment why?
~~not because~~
the reforms are faster

quote the company guy

have your interests at heart. once that is achieved, one is fit to be interdependent. to be a strong partner for others, and to reach a higher level of potential. interdependent. when two people

government as interdependent - Lincoln - the role of gov't is to do for the people what they can't do, or do as well, in their separate capacities. role of interdependence. that we can do together better than either of us could do alone. the amount is increasing.

The pursuit of happiness is not possible without liberty.

Ho Chi Minh wrote:

each ought to be able to make the full use of their talents.

Remember the Henry Ford riff - idealists are those who want to make others prosperous. paid a wage to help them buy the products they make.

Make sure you have non-zero themes in here from the wright book

when you talk to Neal Jameson. if you say: that doesn't jibe with what Tracy told me. he has forty years of total immersion experience.

Neal will counsel you that POTUS not say something in Vietnamese, it is tonal and could be dangerous. there are simply phrases like Thank you.

sentimentality - people who can be touched.

first thing that comes to mind is how tricky and sensitive it is. there are many audiences. I just last week was in NYC at America Museum of Natural History planning a big exhibition on VN. we were talking about how to do a timeline.

the one thing that strikes me that VN are looking for. they are proud but embarrassed. everyone knows they are one of poorest nations in world. they have a keensense of hierarchy feel they may have left the side down. they feel they are backward compared to us or even Thailand.

they are looking for dignity and respect. don't step on sensitivity. give as much dignity as you can..

it's the economy stupid, mentality. enterin gnew age, new century. in the sense we can work together to meet some of the goals. eliminate hunger and reduce poverty. health care, education for your kids. decent standard of living. at same time, globalization is a point of great concern. in hanoi. they realize it's an opportunity and cause of concern. footdragging is nervousness that globaliation can overwhelm them and we are insensitive to their vulnerability and their concerns. those dragging are suspicious that this is a form of more american dominance. and they'll become wwesternized. American culture is floating in.

this is a shared concern. they want to modernize zdn build economy but they want to present their historic heritage. much political. some of the party leaders are talking about their determination to preserve socialism, but nobody knows what that means. they're saying it out of some uncertainty.

*this is why
say
"culture
matters"*

VN nationa character. they have a sense of being special. persistence, endurance. patience. their history is one of struggle. one of problems themes is you can go back to 15th century one famous documents. VN has never lacked heroes. people are leary of all that.

many if most VN are tired of heroisma nd tired of politics. they want peace and quiet to build a little better life for themlse. fix the roof gat a new pair of shoes.

consumerism is turning into a bigger force than the ideologies.

people are very familiy oriented. they understand themselves. as family oriented. it's almos so basic it's taken for granted.

somewould say confucian influence. they are part of that east asian cultural tradition which tyey share with china japan korean.

red riverdelta dangerous place to live. flood drought and famine. they had to bukld strong family village ties. weakened down in Mekong delta that didn't have this flooding.

famine was unknow in south. in 1945 a couple million died of famine, mainly the result of japanese policies. japanese on last legs then forcing people to cut back on food production and produce what japanese needed for war. Americans were bombing

supply lines. couldn't get resupplied. in living memory even in late 1970s people were hungry but mainly in the North, many lost weight.

main impact the speech will have is through television coverage. widespread. several things to think about. one is theme or shared ideals. we have our differences, as you know Ho Chi Minh quoted declaration of independence. in theirs.

Nothing is more precious than freedom and independence. VN used ideal gov't of the people, by the people, for the people. there is a general sense it came from the United States.

notion of taking the people as the root - no matter how easy the task without the people it can't be done. no matter how difficult, with the people it can be done.

Ho Chi Minh said that - knowing that was a sentiment that was in the culture. but he built on it.

Take the people as the root. the basis. all the vietnamese know that.

some cliches - every speech in VN talki about industrialization and modernization. that has wide support. take it to mean. most people take it to mean catching up with the rest of the world.

VN feels it's behind its neighbors. POTUS could say given your gifts, there is no reason to be behind your neighbors.

experts agree VN's greatest resources is its people. on perceptual basis allow for increasing consumption food no great advantage for Vietnam. they won't get rich on natural resources. but the people are incredibly industrious enterprising.

difference between VN in US and VN in VN. they are successful in US, not in VN -

"we have seen in US the work of VN what they have contributed we know what VN are capable. praise and exhort by saying: no difference between here and

exhortation is less effective than reassurance.

they are changing. they want to change. but they're afraid that change will overwhelm them. BTA with US. majority want that including in party central committee. they are afraid that if they jump in they won't be effective enough to compete. they will pay cost without getting benefits.

legitimate fear. they have to do it. If they can't produce the quality of goods at a competitive prices to capture some share of the American market.

you want to signal some awareness of their concerns and some sympathy and some indication we are not big bully and blind force that runs over everything.

we can prosper together. not us vs. vn. far from a sure thing.

as we trade it is not a question of which side is going to win. it's a fact that both. we have a stake in your success. we have a faith in your ability to compete as a member of the community while they remain prod and distinctly vietnamese. *

Hanoi National Univ. french created univ. this grew out of it. it was reorganized in 54. it has been the main school. biggest and most prestigious. education and higher ed. in VN is big controversy. my view is that for all the downside the achievement of revolution is providing access to basic educ and primary health care for North.

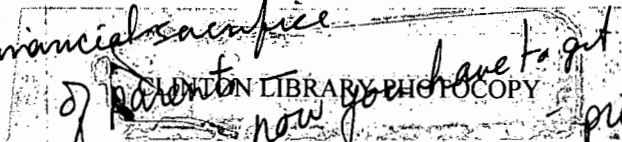
they are not ready for 21st century. they know it. avg age of scientists in VN is like 60 years ago. largely happened because when they took over in 60s large numbers went to Russia Soviet Union eastern Europe. during war they didn't grow those people.

you have competent senior people and birth young people but no people in the middle. they are interested in building educ yet they have a crisis because gov't with foreign asst and small economy they can't fund decent educ system and it no longer free. they want help in building cadre of trained scientists and teachers. they all want to come to US and study. they see American as a symbol of modernity. cell phones are widespread, TV's VCRs. the motorcycle. people really sacrifice to buy a motorcycle.

Students are concerned about getting a job. it's one of the other factors. it's a tremendous financial sacrifice for families to send a kid to college. if you sac. and can't get a

If you have
the reform
you can
compete
w/ anyone in
the
world!

Mention financial sacrifice
of parents now you have to get a job
pressure.



job you're in trouble. unemployment and underemployment is widespread.

students/young people - a lot of people are just fed up with politics. they want a change, but they don't want revolution. they want stability and peace and economic growth. this is the pressure for reform. that includes people on both sides. a lot of guys on party central committee who espouse communism, they're just as eager to get their kids to US to study banking as anyone else.

no simple answer. you can be reassuring. we're not a threat. we want a peaceful and prosperous VN. we want the same things, we recognize their legitimate aspirations. we might get away from praise and encouragement and continuing progress. more democratic under rule of law. movements toward democracy at grassroots level. talk of prosperous but equitable society.

economic growth has been accompanied by socioeconomic differentiation, tricky to take on.

possible reference to US Japan US Germany as illustration of how you go forward and prosper. TRICKY. MIAs we have made a big deal of now. VN's have fully cooperated for a long time. We have a couple thoughts, and there are hundreds of thousands of those whose bodies were never recovered.

this is more important to VN in terms of VN culture than it would be to Americans in terms of America. culture. Agent Orange. we haven't provided that much assistance.

be sensitive to the skeptics.

reassurance

we can prosper together
we know your concerns.

we will not bury you.

I think that's the main thing they will listen for.

emphasize what is shared, emphasize the bright side. the importance of the people what an admirable people they are.

intelligence, diligence, patient persistence. family orientation. local communities, strength of VN culture over millennia. fact that it has survived, they take pride with some

justification for the humane dimension for the humanity. of VN culture. the value of the human being. tolerance. religion is resurging in VN, makes leaders a little nervous. there is a sensitive subject, a lot of different things going on under rubric of religion.

most streets in every city in VN are named for people who died fighting foreign aggression most of them Chinese. the Chung Sisters. the generals who drove out the Chinese in late 13th century. has to be the major streets named for. little risky in two dimensions, they build their support for the war on theme of heroic resistance to foreign aggression. many people fed up with heroism and that theme.

*set up next stage
new relations.*

POETS

there are some but you've got to go back, literature became so politicized it's tricky to grab some of that. some leading poet before the war, many sided with Hanoi and renounced their earlier work. we're fighting for

4,000 year history reaches back to myth. they have traced some continuity that goes back before the Christian era.

Soccer I watched the Thai match. the city went crazy in a way that transcended politics. goes back to need for respect and dignity. int'l event and VN did well, and people took great pride and achievement.

They have had problems with soccer since then with scandals. good for POTUS To talk about tremendous elation shows that people feel we should be doing better. something wrong with world where we are down at bottom of heap.

one of major impetus for change. when VN opened up, they flew to Bangkok and felt they had been kicked in stomach.

we can all see how each other lives. your children are entitled to the same opportunities children everywhere have. if you want to make a friend for life with a VN don't do anything for them but for their children.

opportunity for the children ties into continuity for family. the idea of a better life for their children. Some VN came to US for their children, but they can stay at home. CAN'T SAY THAT.

Some sense toward the end of this understanding and concern of their situation and their aspirations the sense that they are moving. he wants to say to the people he believes in them respects, them and he wishes them success.

closer for speech, wish you health and success.

one of Ho's famous lines: solidarity, solidarity, great solidarity.

POTUS - success, success, great success.

wish them good health and success.

you could paraphrase that line. could resonate with the rhythm of it. they would all pick it up in a university hall and raising the sense of shared prosperity we have no reason not to wish them well. speaks to

you cannot win by making someone else lose.

Big giant - China - couple hour drive from Hanoi. they're fearful of dumping from China.

"I wish you good health and success - success, success, great success."

chuc (wish) cacban suckhoe va phanh cong

phanh cong phanh cong Dai phanh cong

CAN you get a human interest story about veterans coming to viet name and vietnamese coming out the US. peace made their first. If those who fought the war and endured the battles can make peace, then the governments can follow.

find some basis for citing buddhism or some reference to the other religious traditions that vn most identifies with - can you fetch some lines from confucius?

main thing is positive. beating up on human rights will not resonate with the crowd. recognize and praise the good things and they are well aware of the others.

main thing is need for respect and dignity and this concern about jumping into this big pond. knowledge of marketing is growing but it's weak. going from minors to majors.

went to VN in 63 in USAID mission.

their theme we need to change, we need to change. people citing exmmpls from US and Europe. it will take many years to really changes.

in the long run, there is tremendous generational difference. the population pyramid is fat at the bottom.

Gen Secy is considered the most powerful , president is ceremonial head of state. presidency is more ceremonial and leader of gov't. in const. states party is leading force in society. party celss are beomcing like a rotary club.

understanding vietnam. intro to traditional vn culture. gets into 30s and 40s. conflict between

Rboerot Templer - Shadows in the Wind. 3 years living in Hanoi. Murry HEBERT wrote up some stories from the early ||

my sense is there had been given where they started< there has been significant>

Tracy Thiele

Tom,

I spoke this morning with Neil Jamieson. He will be happy to speak with you. Call him at home in Virginia at [REDACTED] P6(b)(6) He is a significant voice in all issues related to Vietnam. You can ask him anything.

I haven't been able to talk to David Christian directly, but I've left him messages so he knows who you are and why you are calling. He works in the office of Senator John Kerry. David is a Vietnam Veteran who has written a few books on his experiences in Vietnam and other parts of the world. He is involved in an exchange of national level soccer teams between the U.S. and China. You can contact him at [REDACTED] P6(b)(6) He will be in today between 1:30-2:00 pm.

I can't reach Robert Olen Butler, the author of Good Scent From a Strange

Mountain. His home phone will not accept incoming calls and he has no voice mail on his office phone. If you want to try to reach him (I've tried repeatedly) you can dial 337-475-5194. There are no guarantees anyone will ever answer.

I'm still waiting to hear from Joe Duemer, the Fulbright scholar/American poet currently working in Vietnam. If you want to try to reach him via e-mail he is at jduemer@yahoo.com. The Fulbright Office in Hanoi hasn't heard from him in a while, so he may not be checking his e-mail regularly. In any event, I dropped him a note to let him know you might touch base with him on questions of poetry.

Good luck.

Tracy

Tracy Thiele
EAP/PD Desk Officer PRC, Hong Kong, Taiwan
1-202-647-7292 (phone) 1-202-647-7033 (fax)
thielek@state.gov

Tom,

You may find this information useful. It is from Mr. Quynh, the Cultural Assistant (a font of information) at the US Embassy in Hanoi. I didn't tell him specifically why I was asking questions since "the grapevine" in Vietnam is too strong. Anyway, he has provided some excellent material. His responses to numbered questions come first. The actual questions are in my original e-mail below to him.

Of course, as Neil Jamieson will point out to you, it is important to understand how quotes (like the one from Ho Chi Minh below) would be perceived as coming from a U.S. President. He can explain this to you in detail.

Separate e-mail to follow with contact info. If you want me to put any other questions to him, please let me know.

Thanks.

Tracy

Tracy Thiele
EAP/PD Desk Officer PRC, Hong Kong, Taiwan

1-202-647-7292 (phone) 1-202-647-7033 (fax)
thieletk@state.gov

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Quynh, Ngo Dinh
> Sent: Wednesday, October 25, 2000 3:13 AM
> To: Thiele, Tracy K.
> Cc: Monk, David B(Hanoi); Martin, Joanne M(EAP/PD)
> Subject: RE: your BIG assignment

> Dear Tracy,

> We were all sad to have heard that you were not coming for the POTUS
> visit. But I'm sure you'll be helpful on that end, too. Now, down to
> your numbered questions:

> 1) During the critical resistance war against the French (that ended with
> the glorious Dien Bien Phu victory of Vietnam in 1954), Bac Ho (Ho Chi
> Minh) and his government (then based in the mountainous north called Viet
> Bac which was also where battles were the fiercest) was making every
> effort possible to mobilize the national strength to fight the French. At
> one of his visits to one of the groups of Thanh nien xung phong (Voluntary
> Youth, majority being young women and girls) who were building roads to
> serve the Frontier Campaign (Chien dich bien gioi) in Viec Bac in August,
> 1950, after all the prosaic encouragement, he concluded with the following
> poetic verse (claimed to be impromptu):

> Khong co viec gi kho (kho^ng co' vie^c gi' kho')
> Chi so long khong ben (chi? so+. lo`ng kho^ng be^`n)
> Dao nui va lap bien (d-a`o nu'i va' la^p bie^?n)
> Quyet chi at lam nen (quye^t chi' a(t la`m ne^`n)

> English translation:

> No task is difficult,
> if we have due commitment and determination.
> With a strong will,
> we will be able to move mountains and fill up seas.

> If it's hard for someone to say this in Vietnamese to impress the
> Vietnamese, just the first two lines is absolutely enough. It's as well
> known and as famous as your "When in Rome" idiom, not needing to say in
> toto. This verse by our great Uncle Ho does resonate strongly in every
> Vietnamese's heart when it's said or heard.

> 2) This is the English translation of our national anthem:

>

> Verse 1:

- > Soldiers of Vietnam, we go forward,
- > With the one will to save our Fatherland
- > Our hurried step are sounding on the long and arduous road
- > Our flag, red with the blood of victory, bear the spirit of our
- > country
- > The distant rumbling of the guns mingles with our marching song:
- > The path to glory passes over the bodies of our foes.
- > Overcoming all hardships, together we build our resistance bases.
- > Ceaselessly for the people's cause we struggle,
- > Hastening to the battlefield!
- > Forward! All together advancing!
- > Our Vietnam is strong eternal.

>

> Verse 2:

- > Soldiers of Vietnam, we go forward,
- > The gold star of our flag in the wind
- > Leading our people, our native land, out of misery and suffering
- > Let us join our efforts in the fight for the building of a new
- > life.
- > Let us stand up and break our chains.
- > For too long have we swallowed our hatred
- > Let us keep ready for all sacrifices and our life will be radiant.
- > Ceaselessly for the people's cause we struggle,
- > Hastening to the battlefield!
- > Forward! All together advancing!
- > Our Vietnam is strong eternal.

>

- > If you want to have the Vietnamese version, open this attachment. It's in
- > graphic form, not text, so don't worry about the font.

>

- > <<quocca.gif>>

- > 3) This is harder for me, although I've consulted with all my colleagues
- > here. We also have the same negative element in the word pride. I'm not
- > sure if I understand you correctly, but here's my take:

>

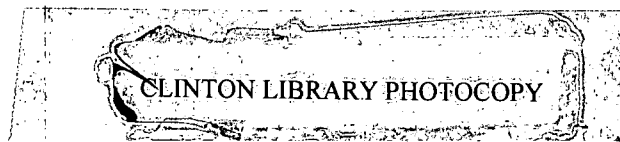
- > If someone faces a praise for sth he's done, he'll modestly say:

>

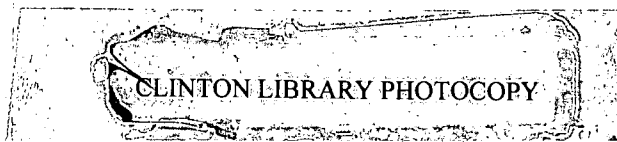
- > Anh/chi/ong/ba/chu/bac/co/di/thim/mo qua khen. (You've overpraised me --
- > singular you)
- > Moi nguoi qua khen (You've over praised me -- plural you, friendly)
- > Quy vi qua khen (You've over praised me -- plural you, formal)

>

- > If he gets a praise for sth he's planning to do, then he'll probably add
- > this to one of the above, according to each context:



>
 > , da co gi dau. (d-a~ co' gi` d-a^u)
 >
 > Examples:
 >
 > Anh qua khen, da co gi dau.
 > Quy vi qua khen, da co gi dau.
 >
 > Hope this satisfies you. If you have any further questions, please feel
 > happy to write to me.
 > Best regards,
 > Quynh
 >
 > -----Original Message-----
 > From: Thiele, Tracy K.
 > Sent: Wednesday, October 25, 2000 3:36 AM
 > To: Quynh, Ngo Dinh
 > Cc: Monk, David B(Hanoi); Martin, Joanne M(EAP/PD)
 > Subject: your BIG assignment
 >
 > Mr. Quynh,
 >
 > 1) Can you give me one or two or three EXTREMELY famous phrases (line of
 > poetry or line of a song or an idiom) in Vietnamese which every Vietnamese
 > knows and loves -- something that resonates in the heart of each and every
 > Vietnamese person. For example, at the end of a lot of domestic speeches
 > American politicians will say "God bless America." This touches the heart
 > of Americans everywhere. If you can think of a couple phrases, give me
 > the background (emotional, political, mythological, etc) of the phrase.
 > I'm particularly interested in a phrase which might evoke the idea "with
 > hard, constant, and joyful work you can succeed at even the most difficult
 > task." If you don't have one like that, I'll take whatever you have.
 >
 > 2) Are there words to the Vietnamese National Anthem? If yes, can you
 > send me a translation? Mrs. Binh might have one (or maybe Lan Huong) from
 > all our work on July 4th.
 >
 > 3) In English when people are boasting to each other about what they plan
 > to do, someone inevitably will say "You ain't seen nothing yet." For
 > example "Well, if you thought I did a good job on that, you ain't seen
 > nothing yet." I'm sure you know this phrase and what it means. Is there
 > any equivalent phrase in Vietnamese that implies success and a good sense
 > of pride of accomplishment? I know pride is one of the seven deadly sins
 > and (in Chinese, at least) it never translates in a positive way. So I
 > need a phrase that is the equivalent of "you ain't seen nothing yet" minus
 > the bad pride element.



>
> I know you have a million other things to do, but I was hoping that maybe
> over a lunch hour with Dr. Thao, Lan Huong and Mr. Thuc you might be able
> to come up with answers to the above requests. Although I know you would
> do this as a favor to me, you can rest assured that there is a good
> work-related reason I'm asking.
>
> Let me know if you can help.
>
> Thanks a million.
>
> Tracy
>
> Tracy Thiele
> EAP/PD Desk Officer PRC, Hong Kong, Taiwan
> 1-202-647-7292 (phone) 1-202-647-7033 (fax)
> thieletk@state.gov
>
Monk email

Tom,

Just read your message. (I'm digging out from under a huge pile of new e-mail after a couple of days with my under secretary of state in tow.) Please do send me what you can to get me thinking in the right direction. Your 8 am/my 7 pm is a better time to talk than the reverse. My phone numbers:

Office (direct): 84-4-831-4602

Mobile: 84-9-042-4997

Home: [REDACTED] (I'm rarely home that early, usually in the office)

Please note that I'm pretty new at this post (3 months) and don't consider myself an expert on Vietnam. I had area studies while taking language classes at FSI like everyone else. Can probably consult a range of people to supplement my own knowledge. If you want to talk to a real expert on Vietnam's history and culture, you might try the deputy chief of mission, Dennis Harter, whose experience here goes back a long time (and who has been here over three years this time), and who has studied this place in some depth.

Regards,
David

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Thomas_M._Rosshirt@nsc.eop.gov

[SMTP:Thomas_M._Rosshirt@nsc.eop.gov]

> Sent: Tuesday, October 24, 2000 2:25 AM

> To: monkdb@state.gov; hicksg@state.gov

> Subject: POTUS speeches in Vietnam

>

>

>

> David:

>

> I'm an NSC speechwriter, and have begun research for the President's
> speeches in

> Vietnam. Greg Hicks suggested you would be a good source for background,
> particularly with cultural and historical references, etc. I would like
> to

> set up a time to talk, but even before that, perhaps I could email you a
> set of

> questions so you could see the kind of information I would find helpful,
> and

> consider suggestions of your own.

>

> My phone is 202 456 9373 -- or you can reply to this email. (If you do,
> could

> you leave me a few phone numbers -- thanks.)

>

> (What time of day would be good for a phone call -- closer to 8 am my
> time/7 pm

> your time or 9 pm my time/8 am your time?)

>

> Tom

>

Soccer - in 2001, some divisional soccer team is going to
vietnam. David Christian is putting it together from sen. john
kerry's office. They signed an MOU. goal is to get vietnamese
team to come to US. for that. US team is going over there.

Soccer is a national mindset. The world stops over there whne
they play soccer.

one main point over there, that PP makes over again: (with
expansion of embassy, this gets lost): what our mission is over
there, recovery of MIA remains.

in terms of reconciliation, this is a good image in the american mind. vietnamese see recovery as an economic goldmine, they get paid a lot of money to participate. remember there is a Dod audience that knows that. small percentage.

message is very important. Vietnamese come up against that message in the newspapers. Well you only had 58,000 die and 5,000 missing. we lost a million and 300,000 missing. What are you doing to help us? in that last two years, we have begun to share archival informatuion. VN visited archives in the statesm. VSSOP. office. We gave htem enormous data to help their seraches. there have been successes on both sides. get specifics from DoD.

Message on MIA is stronger here in US. Agent Orange is a huge propaganda job from VN. Now anyone on the street in vietnam can converse in agent orange. they think every birth defect is dut to AO.

We stay away from that issue, excpet for saying we will do joint scientific research. Offer on the table to pay for VN scientists to come to joint research. To lay rest to the question of whether AO is now causing damage. there is no definitive study every done that shows residual damage.

Then POTUS decided to cover prostate cancer, etc. to make them covered under VA, it wans't sience-related.

On our side, we're say9ing, you can't drawn these conclusions with out the science. Nobody has done the research.

Amb. position: what does it really matter anyway? let's take care of people. In VN health care budget provides 3 dollars per person per yeear, most of it used in trauma-related accidents in hostppical.

major cause of death in VN under 55 is drowning. Safety issue is enormous over there.

No reason ever to mention it. Be aware of it. If you come up against it - env. issues. AO is part of env. discussion. child health care, too.

AS AMB says: VN is young 85 percent is under 40. it's a population that is eager, it wants education. It's youthful.

may be
include
this in
secr
VN or
a
country

They have recollection of the war. they don't even think about it. there is no focus about it. VN is a country not a war.

Amb always says: first time in 4,000 they have not been at war.

look at prosperity of VN in US. that's what they do under freedom. compare to VN. It's gov't policies that make a difference. Tracy says this might or might not work.

Reform issue. In VN, the National Assembly is not a rubber stamp anymore. they've been know to call ministers onto the carpet and ream them for bad mgt and corruption.

Checks and balances. whatever makes America more transparent. The issue of non-corruption of transparency, fair playing field.

Issue of freedom is far too sweeping. They are free in their own minds for the first time in 4,000 years. The VN are angry about those issues. They are the ones who pass laws. they have passed some stuff that has tried to remedy situations.

reform issues: the rule of law, transparency.

dissidents are looking for political rights we call human rights. freedom of movement, speech, press. those are not things that will resonate with VN audience because they don't know about these people. won't know what we're talking about.

National Assembly. committed work of elected. that would resonate with them.

local communities are very strong. if they're angry with an elected officials, they take action. riot, pull people out of their houses. People there do very clearly express what they want from the government. The people have a tie to this body of elected delegates.

You might somehow compare the work of congress and the presidency here and that kind of reform there. to fight corruption, and that economic prosperity, brings transparency. brings a desire to make sure political rights exist and freedom.

National myths, songs, heroes.

Lake of the returned sword. that lake is where the national hero: Le Loy went there and this turtle gave him a sword and he unified Vietnam by driving the Chinese out of Vietnam.

National anthem - tracy will look for lyrics.

When VN won the war, they moved on. we got stuck in it, because we lost. There is not question in my mind, there are issues, but the VN doin't talk about the war. people who served during that war, which are few. You can still feel residual stuff there, but young people are over it.

by people america is perceived - it's a favorable impression. When people on one on one they have nothing but good will. But if you were to say, what do they say behind closed doors. this agent orange has been so heavily put down in their propagandy machine, they feel we owe them something. it colors their thinking about us. they look to us as a model. people want to go to US and see it.

VN come back to vietnam. When we sent them out on programs, they are so connected to their country. Chinese all bolt.

People who come over now as students. they are so home-bound. one of the big issues, how can we issue multiple entry visas. they get so homesick. Some one once said: there is a main difference between VN and chinese, chinese want respect, but VN want respect and affection.

there are a very feeling people. you can read the VN in a way you can't read the chinese. very kind and affectionate in an endearing way. if you pump emotion into your message, they won't just hear it they will feel it. because they won't look at you with cynicism. the people aren't. so if you emote that you like them, that you're proud of them what a great job you've done. They've integrated in america into volunteer organizations, they've committed resources to help people that are worse off.

Hit on the issue of families. these people are so family oriented. when you do MIA stuff. go into the family -stuff. American people families appreciate this.

VN people have opened their land and their hearts and their minds to let this go forward. (don't say gov't say people).

There was this plaque on embassy in saigon. noone took it, it had the names of five marines who gave their lives protecting the embassy. it ended up in a musuem. we went to the ministr oof culutre. I gave them the logical reasons. but the real reasons is the families of thesoldiers. and I was in a room with tow people who were in tears. gov't officials.

common humanity.

neil jameson - he works in washington and his winrock international. Tracy will find the number. he wrote a book "under4standing vietnam." the language of vietname is poetry. He could tell you an answer. there is also a guy in VN, Joseph deemer, he is a minor american poet. he knows a lot of poets over there.

Because he is a poet himself. there is another guy, very famous. good sent from a strange mountain short stories, very famous author just won pulitzer prize. just sent ihm to VN.

If you read that book. he wrote in the voices of VN immigrants to american. it is one of the most fabulous books I have ever read. I have heard he speaks vn fluently. Robert Olen Butler. she will get his contact information.

Short story form; how they have integrated how they related to americans. their dreams, the loss of their history and their land. very small book. talking to him might give you a really _____. He served there in the war. If you read the book you wouldn't believe someone not VN could have written it. Those are refugess expereicne.

Neil Jameson spent six months a year in VN working on env. projects. he knows VN literature and transition of language from Sino characters into a language that allows literacy.

Joseph Deemer is Fulbright scholar. is a minor american poet translates Vietnamese poetry. it is the lagnuage of depth and feeling. It's in the poetry and the folk songs where you're going to find the line you're looking for.

In asia a lot of long lasting messages. In time everything will come to you. patience, patience patience. that is a common line. if you frame it, it's in your reach in this generation. I don't know if that's what matters. for them the people in the cities. they yhave so much more than they ever dreamed possible.

they're living in a dream world already. So they already have stability they've never had, freedom and prosperity. pushing them faster. it's almost. the reason young people are so apolitical is that they don't see the gov't as useful, it doesn't mean anything to them - as long as they don't mess up what they're doing.

It's not unknown to have people say: there only need to be a few more state funerals, and we can take over. generational change is on everyone's mind.

The person who is significant is the PM. average age of the standing committee of the politburo. only 15 percent of population is above forty. one thing you have seen, there is an orderly passing of offices, and people leaving power and new people coming in.

youth of vietnam. the leadership of this country is going to pass to you. fair to say: pay attention to government. these kids are so apolitical. They feel they can't do anything about it. They have more than they have ever had before. What's really important is what their parents have passed on to them. sacrifice. a lot of people in '30s grew up dirt poor. as long as the gov't doesn't come out and take away assets, they don't care about it. but the gov't has some lousy policies. the police are incredibly corrupt the whole gov't is corrupt.

They get angry at corruption. Corruption is a huge problem.angers people that you have to pay off people for everything.

push faster message - in economic terms, it's terms of getting richer etc. that's what they want.

if it's reform. you have to redirect their vision. i.e. you've tested the value of reform.

you ain't seen nothing yet.

VN would nod their heads to opportunities for education. they have clothes and motorcycles, televisions, internet cafes computers. they have things. you can mention them, but they can't educate all the people who want education. there is a growth industry in night schools. the french spend 15 million a year teaching classes around the country trying to get people to study french, but english is a growth industry.

family is big,

under that is the issue of education. how can your children even do betetr, build schools. in rural areas. they have the abiliyt already they have private univ that have sprung up, in response to great need and desire.

the cities are rich, they peple who are making change or in a proisiton to make change are not peasants. they are people in thecities.

there is agroup - women in VN are increditly strong. these women are kick butt women.

public affairs officer - we did a lot of program. put together conferences in VN etc. if you went to univ they couldn't deliver. but anytime you went to owmen's union, you could get deliverity, you could get it within days. there are some really well-placed women in the national assembly. these women call the cministers on the carpet. they're amazing. if you nod to women, they deserve it. if you go ot VN and see who is doing thework, ditch digging, laying roads, etc. it's all women.

Lot of beer hals in hanoi and ho chi mink city. movie: scent of green papaya. won at Cannes in 1993. look at VN men.

family - local community. homesick, come home more often. zeal for education. gov't doesn't have money to provide gov't run schools. they can only education in national system some 2 percent of those who qualify to go. So all these priate universities have sprung up.

VN want to do community colleges. there was a study done it ended up that they tried to institue a community colelge situation turned into 4 year college because they demdand was so great.

unemployment is high - reason is big - they don't have ability to create enugt jobs to absorb those coming inot the job jmarket. Amb always said one million ocming into workforce everyo years, small fraction of those jobs available.

If you can't absorg people, you're going to have unrest.

communists are reformed because they have to:

"you can reform now, or you can refomr later."

Communist party is a wide range of opinions. reformers are not dominant right now. they were for a while. they lost power, some were voted out. Ongoing internal battle.

You can talk about the value of honest dialogue in open forums. a nod to the national assembly. because that's what that is.

people know from reading the newspaper what the difficulties are in the country.

one day alan larsen says something that is against current policy, in America, either he's not paying attention or something big has happened. When these guys read the newspaper, when the message disappears or is altered, you know something happened.

imagine your whole life you read the newspaper with an eye to changing message. you become aware of the struggle.

Transparency, open, public discussion of issues that affect daily lives - back to the generational thing. what they're going to if they want to achieve something they're going to have to take some of the responsibility to get in the fight.

I'm talking about people under 25; they are apolitical. they are in cities. they've got two motorcycles, wearing gold chains, going to soccer matches. the rioters are in rural. yearly income measured in wheat or rice. officials are talking so much of their food; that's the rioting I'm talking about.

Look at the BTA; it's a huge risk for VN. you have an agreement of open markets. you have got the legal basis, the transparency, no corporate structure, the law and the basis is not there.

Study law. learn the laws of your country. VN has taken a huge risk - how do we deliver on this. VN method of operation has been sign the paper and ask questions later.

BTA binds us together we're bound together by history. good faith on both sides binds us together in prosperity stability. in order to meet that is a challenge. the promise of the BTA requires the young people to live up to the risk involved. If you want to achieve.

maybe they could encourage their children into unusual professions. what do you need to support prosperity

stability, economic reofrm. lawyers, elgislators, accountant.
you need all the building blocks that don't go hustle on the
street, sell nails on the street.

lawyers - peoepl thinK: oh money!. it's not a profeission that
is so developed. accountants are important. take a risk. send
your child to a foreign country to study. and bend and mold and
shape.

"There is no way you should be behind your neighbors!"

VN conservatives felt happy during the aisaan economic crisie
because they didn't get hurt too much. If you push
integration, they might feel they did better by not being
connected.

The government will be concerned about doing not as well as
neighbors, they have low-wage labor. they don't have trained
labor. investors don't want to go into veitname because of lack
of transparency.

To the young people: you will have an increasing role to play
in the future of Vietnam. that much I am confident of.

You

The people went nuts for soccer:

"the only time I felt proud to be vietnamese was when vn beat
thailand at the soccer game last year.

Agent Orange as an issue.

Issues: heroin - drugs, and drug-trafficking, AIDS.

Confucian values or "confucian-bound social fabric.

why should we be looking to the future. well there's more to look at - VN has 85% of the people under 40. They have more future than past. 65% of the nation is under age 26.

for the first time in 4,000 years of history. they have a chance for peace and prosperity.

If you pursue prosperity, -- forget about ideology, forget about - just take the steps that put for faith in people, give them more opportunities, more choices, more power - and see if peace and prosperity don't come out on top.

The challenge of history is to learn from history. to explore, experiment, to make good guesses based on the past experience of others, and not to repeat mistakes.

property - it makes people wary, it makes them pay attention. If they have property, they have something to lose, if they have something to lose, they want a say.

Pete: assets get you involved in government. if it's not the assets you have; it's the assets you want.

maybe a riff on how vietnamese are poised to prosper. hard-working, value education, -- note the prosperity of vietnamese in the US.

you ignore ideology; we'll ignore ideology, we'll both experiment with what creates prosperity and empowers people and makes people happy, leaving them free to pursue happiness, and we'll end up in the same place. at peace and prosperous.

one message: don't fear the free market.

Note/Theme: the vietnamese and americans who work together to find dead on both sides.

vn advantages: human resources, struggle for education, natural resources, coal. export of petroleum. gold precious gems. terrific agr. base. second largest exporter of rice in the world. another - position. 1,000 to 1,500 ships travel the coast of vn everyday.

No tow nations have ever done what we're doing now to discover the losses suffered in war.

get a copy of the film/video PP talks about in his speech to the Asia society.

should make an attempt in this speech to talk about the things that are surprising about VN. consider that the american people through the US media are a major audience in this speech, and they are to be given a sense that things are moving forward, in part because of our engagement, and continued engagement will help further.

This is a chance to reintroduce VN to America. The New Viet Nam.

PP if VN signs and implements the provisions, VN would very quickly become one of the most prosperous nations in Asia.

We need VN to be prosperous, because without prosperity, the region could become destabilized again.

PP: 'A prosperous VN integrated into world markets and regional organizations will contribute to regional stability. For these reasons the US seeks to encourage and support the VN leadership as it makes crucial decisions on economic reform.

Note that after tremendous economic run in from 1990- to 1997, economic reform stalled, then Asian financial crisis hit.

In 97 98 many businesses grew weary of non transparency and scaled back.

economic crises in Asia may have given VN fear that the crisis was brought on by too much reform, rather than not enough.

Clinton point: you have options, you have choices, you have a future that could be terrific or disappointing. that's why you care. In a nation with no options or opportunities, people don't care what the government does. In a nation of promise, people watch the government, they want to participate, they have a stake.

bilateral issues with VN:

POW/MIA
emigration
human rights
religious freedom
economic reform

*if you push them
back
become...
can POTUS
say this?*

trade - opening markets for US business.
political reform
promoting regional stability

make sure you get a separate sense of VN strengths and weaknesses, risks and opportunities.

PP june 99:

concerned about human riht. VN contineu to deny or curtail basic freedoms to its citizens. the govb't maintian a n autocratic one-party state that tolerate no organie opposition. A numbe rof peopl remain in jail or under hous arrest fo rthe peaceful expression of their politica or reoigiohviews. and the vdoutnry labor practices fall short of international standards.

But we have seen some improvement which we bleiev can be attributed to deepending US engagement with VN.

restrictions onreligion institution themselves remain in palce, including on clrrerical apointemetn seminary activiyt and transfers of clergy

june 99: in fact, prominnet dissident Nguyen Dan Que, in a jjne 13 communique, announced his support for a BTA based on his belief that the agreemetn would be a force for change in VN.

thematic from PP June 99: a prosperous VN intebgrate into world marekt and regional orgs (ASEAN APEC) wil lcontirbut to regional stability. the US seeks to encoruage VN along the path of refomr sot ath as it enter the 21st century ti will become areligatl and peaceful regional and interinationa lplayer. the best wea to afchie this is to work with other antions to increat trade the rfree flow of info and know how and people to people exchanges tiwht VN>

from NYT Almanac:

"In oct 95, VN's nationa lassembly adopte its first -ever nationa civil coed under the communist gover't the document which tool ten years to draft, spelled out rights to land, peronal properpity, ineritances, and raising capital. Close to 90 percent of the Assembly members voited in favor of the cos, which wen into effect in Julyu 1996.

engagement, most effective tool we have to encourage process of change in Vietnam.

PP says in 99 speech that principle deputy PM recently admitted the country was facing grim economic prospects and that the failure to move forward with economic reform was part of the cause.

a section where you review the recent changes in Vietnam since withdrawing from Cambodia. Then perhaps at look at the trajectory: where is this all headed?

we don't think Vietnamese should have to come to America to be rich. What is the difference between Vietnamese in the US, and here. (can you compare their wealth in statistics). The difference is economic and political freedom.

trace a little bit the history of democracy, human rights, religious freedom. cherished in America, not made in America. not a western value, but a universal right.

where there is peace and prosperity, there is democracy and free market economies.

A scientist would infer causation. correlation, causation.

We spend 10 million for recovery and 3 million on the living - a reporter asks: is that the right proportion?

Thoughts: to move to the future, we need to put the past behind us. To put aside the instinct to settle old scores, refight old wars. We're not going to put the past behind while there are still US servicemen whose remains are here.

POW/MIA efforts are essential to moving ahead and looking to the future. because we can't truly embrace the future until we come to terms with the past. This is how we do it, for the families of the servicemen missing, for those who fought here, for those who have fought anywhere, for those who have ever worn the uniform of their country, and for every American who honors their sacrifice. honors the choice they made with their lives. that's what we have to deal with before we move forward, and that is - in the midst of our progress in normalizing relations why POW/MIA has been the paramount interest. Because we can't move forward in any other area, unless we move forward in this one. We will not be a nation that forgets its fallen sons and daughters. (look at Memorial Day language, 2000)

the tragedy of the past should not keep us in the past, but propel even faster forward toward a future unlike the past.

can we talk about the economic success of Americans of Vietnamese descent, and make a note: when you combine the diligence and free market economic prosperity results.

Find out what kind of traditions and customs Americans of Vietnamese ancestry keep alive in the US.

are there groups of Vietnamese-Americans we will be meeting with before the trip.

use these words | Note perhaps that they have done so much to help us with the fullest possible accounting because they, too, know the grief and anguish of not knowing.

We will never be able to fully forget the past, nor should, for its lessons, but also for loyalty to those who lost many other options in life to come in, and last that life, too.

note activities of American community in Vietnam.

Sources:

Ted Osirus (try to get him on trip)

Greg Hicks Vietnam desk officer, state, 647 4023

Tracy Thiele former embassy culture and public affairs attaché

David Monk current embassy culture and public affairs attaché

Pete Peterson ambassador, get his congressional testimony

note: wounds take long to heal. It is only on (certain terms) that we move forward to mend our relations.

We as a nation are ready to move forward, because some of our most outstanding citizens and leaders have determined they personally are ready to move forward, and they have led this

movement toward reconciliation. name them. Many times those who suffered worst are prepared to

we will never forget the sacrifices they made, the suffering of their families, the causes and principles that we fought for - but those same causes America fought for are best pursued today by these means. A time for war and a time for peace.

but we refuse that we not pass on,

Ted osius notes:

go to vietnam: we're in new phase. we have political normalization. with signing of bilat trade agreements, we're trying to integrate vietnam into the world economy. we're bringing in this insular country into the world economy. hooking them to the internet. giving the private sector more power.

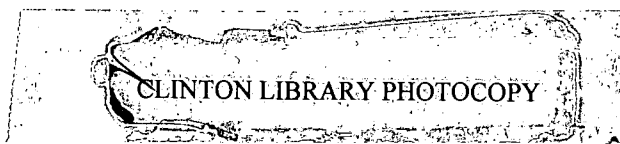
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they address concerns of women - how to keep kids in schools. food on table, etc.

there is a youth union. not just a feeder to communist party anymore. they have job placement services, sports events. ballroom dancing. they have a condom café. a café where they had out free condoms and teach about HIV AIDS and how to prevent transmission. Ted was there in summer of 98.

bright spots in free market economy and rule of law.

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They know this is the beginnign of the end of one-party. Fact that chinese took this big gamble is the reason VN did it. Not an accident that vn did it after CHina. we need to do it for prosperity, because if we can't keep prosperity we can't keep power.

our gamble - economic opening will lead to political opening. there's economic opening will give them the prospeirty they need to stay in power.

Ideological - they acknowledge if they do not go free market, they will not feed. they had massive famines in late 70s and early 80s. in 86, they started adopting this policy of "Doi Moi" - renovation. A little bit by reformasi. not exact analogy. Doi Moi is strictly economic.

perestroika without glasnost.

their biggest fear is that we have - greatest feat they have is that we have hidden agenda which is democratizaiton which, of course, we do. that is our belief - otherwise we wouldn't be pushing this.

Gamble on our side in the case of China. opponenets who are thinking the most would fear we are strengthening what down the road would become our enemy. we're making expensive for them to misbehave by brining them into instiutitons that insist on our rules.

vietnam:

priase of nation: since they adopted their doi moi policy (86), they have enjoyed relaly high rates of economic growth (which have delinced in the last few years), and they have joined ASEAN, which is huge. ASEAN was set up as a bulwark against communism. now they are members and have chaired ASEA.

they did huge thigns in 95

normalized relations with US

normalized relationship with UN
and joined ASEAN.

Joining ASEAN does not commit them to political changes, but does commit them to economic changes. ASEAN free trade area is looming years ahead. means they have to reduce the support they provide for their state owned enterprises. have to get the private sector up and running. they're terrified of small businesses, because they cannot control them as they can state owned enterprise. they like to have party cells in every enterprise. much harder to have that in small business of 25 people. certain amount of party control is lost at the extent that they let private sector flourish.

they've invited exchange with the rest of the world when they invite in foreign investors and open up to the internet. they're doing this as fast as the chinese are.

praise we want to praise the cooperation they have extended to us on POS MIA discovery. I can't think ever any country that they have given us the access they have given us. their policy has been top to bottom in every province. let them dig, search, just to find the remains of their fallen. there are a lot of nuts who think there is a POW behind every wall. we have had to run down a lot of false leads and the VN have been incredibly patient.

We need to acknowledge right at the top their cooperation.

What then?
doesn't hurt to acknowledge their long history of valuing education among all else. in the temple of literature is a couple thousand years old. Hanoi has always been the cultural and political capital and educational capital. business capital has been saigon.

process of getting french out was not complete until 54

in 45 - ho chi mink pushed out japanese. then french came back and pushed Ho into the mountains. north and northwest - two zones of influence, french in north and brits in south.

truman decided to support de Gaulle in indo china. 45 -54 ho vs. the french. by 54 he had top half of the country. then 54-75 that he was fighting to unite the country.

Hanoi - at one point way back - Hue was the imperial capital. emperor lived in Hue. somewhere in 19th century.

great history book on vietnam. lots of underlinings. ted will bring the book.

french missionaries brought romanized alphabet which helped conditions to raise literacy rate, which you don't have in countries with lot of characters. happened late 19 - early 20 century.

education and literacy are things you can do safely. don't want to do fierce nationalism.

they have an unbroken history of war right up to fighting in cambodia in the eighties.

pretty chaotic after pol pot left power. 76 - 79 reign of terror, then no one was in charge - this was communism at its basic form. by the end of Pol Pot, there was nobody left to run the country.

Chinese fought a border war with VN in 79. after chinese pulled back, VN went into Cambodia in 1980. they wanted to keep china out. this was preemptive. it was a quagmire, they got stuck there for nine years. not until 89 were they able to extricate themselves. that.

they couldn't join ASEAN while they were invading on eof their neighbors.

they were getting materiel from china during the war, but also economic and political support from USSR. our fear during VN war was to prevent drawing china into it. we really didn't want chinese army to move in.

a lot of our talks with chinese was to keep them from becoming directly involved in the conflict. Kissinger was trying constantly with his opening to china was trying to neutralize the VN war as a superpower conflict. limit it to triage. do triage and help us get out with honor.

VN historical enemy has always been China. yes Ho got support from MAO, but for 900 VN was a southern province of china. even the chinese characters for VN< means province in the south.

all the great battles in their history. they drove the chinese out from vietnam. The Choong sisters, plunged to death, because death was better than being seized by the chinese. warrior heroes were those that defeated chinese in various battle.s

900 year of chinese domination of VN ended sometime before french missionaries coming in in 18th century.

TOAST ideas:

new chapter, new relationship. end to old animosities. courage of vietnam's leaders in integrating into the world economy. providing opportunity for their children to enjoy prosperity. the fact that VN young people unlike their parents have grown up in peace. just an aside - 60 percent of population. young country -

what's the religion situation in vn. what is it historically. and what is it under this government/

Notes on Ted's Book

Stanley Karnow - Vietnam - A history

Highlights of OPL Briefings in Preparation for the Vietnam Trip

Briefing for the Veterans Community
October 10, 2000

Briefers: Gene Christy (NSC Asia)
Randy Beardsworth (NSC Defense)
Bob Jones (DoD POW/MIA Office).
Ken Steadman (VA)

Main Questions/Suggestions:

- ✓ It would not go over well if POTUS took a business delegation and no veterans.



- ✓ Will POTUS refer to POW/MIA issue as "most important" or are economic relations a higher priority for him?
- ✓ Will issues that have plagued veterans, like Agent Orange, be raised?
- ✓ POW/MIA issue should be in forefront, but there is a need to "get on with it." It is time to put the past behind and go to Vietnam to do what needs to be done.
- ✓ POTUS should go to south Vietnam to talk about economic opportunity. Tremendous difference between what he'd see in Saigon/Ho Chi Minh City. A visit to Saigon carries a lot of symbolism.
- ✓ Some veterans are protesting this trip, and it would ease their concerns if he addressed POW/MIA issue in advance of the trip and on the trip.
- ✓ POTUS participation in a joint excavation site might evoke passions - but he is Commander in Chief, so needs to address this issue.
- ✓ Participation in the repatriation ceremony is critical.
- ✓ Importance of discussing humanitarian issues.

X

Briefing for the Business Community
October 4, 2000

Briefers: Gene Christy
Ambassador Richard Fisher

Main Questions/Suggestions:

- ✓ Need for dialogue with Congress around the trip. Congress should move forward on Bilateral Trade Agreement (BTA) ratification and Administration should urge Vietnam to fulfill its obligations to ensure faithful implementation of BTA. X
- ✓ U.S.-Asian Business Council will organize business mission to Vietnam and plan to be in Ho Chi Minh City at same time as POTUS (want to do an event with him.) [Note: U.S.-ASEAN Business Council has now joined to do a single business mission.]
- ✓ Will POTUS raise human rights and labor issues?
- ✓ Business community would like opportunity to brief CODEL if there is one.

Vietnamese-American Community
October 13, 2000

Viet Kien

Briefers: Gene Christy
Joseph Damond (USTR)
Bennett Freeman (State/Bureau of Democracy, Human
Rights and Labor)

Main Questions/Suggestions:

- ✓ Need for improvements in attitudes of Vietnamese officials toward the rights of Vietnamese Americans.
- ✓ Vietnamese-Americans should be included in official delegation.
- ✓ Need to address issue of sex trafficking of women and children.
- ✓ The United States should push for the protection of Amerasians in Vietnam and facilitate their getting American citizenship.
- ✓ When Secretary Cohen was in Vietnam, the Vietnamese pushed for an official apology from the U.S. The United States should not do that and should look toward the future.
- ✓ POTUS should bring up the following issues: Vietnamese soldiers from the Vietnamese War, high ranking communist leaders who became dissidents. He should also push for democracy and reform, devise an institutional arrangement for foreign aid.
- ✓ The United States should provide humanitarian assistance for flood victims in the Mekong Delta.
- ✓ While the Agent Orange dialogue focuses only on compensating war veterans, there is also the need to bring up health and environmental implications.
- ✓ There are tremendous resources in the private sector because Vietnamese entrepreneurs have achieved financial success and would like to direct their success to philanthropic work in Vietnam.
- ✓ POTUS should recognize importance of NGOs in the normalization of U.S.-Vietnam relations; should push Vietnamese officials to embrace NGO efforts.
- ✓ The United States should apply constant pressure on Vietnam to uphold human rights.
- ✓ The United States should push for freedom of the press in Vietnam - essential for achieving a transparent environment.
- ✓ Need to close the chapter of the War and look toward the future. Free market is best way to increase democracy and freedom.

*success
diff
Viet Kien*



NOTIONAL OUTLINE

Talk about the past --

Mine us vietnam relations for all its worth. We're two nations linked by all kinds of common experience some of them painful but not all. Go back before 1945. Chtrstoperh. Jefferson got seeds of vietnam to plant. Words from us declaration incroopraitoned into vietnamese. First us ship to vietnam when jefferson. Was president.

They know gov't of the people by the people for the people.

On the war -- we want to avoid apologies. This was a fact, it happened, it scarred botyh nations. It was a profoundly important event in us hisoty and vietnamese.

*Japan, France
China*
Some acknowledgment would be good if we talk about how it affected them. What we call the vietnam war didn't begin with you with interf of us forces in vietname and it didn't end wihen we left. They had been at war from 1940s to 1980, wars against japense, frence, us, chine cambodia. We don't see their history stolely through the prism of our expernece. explicit aknwloedgment of that concept.

We're not going to answer all the bitter questions, that's not what we're here for. What we do -- we do have an ogligations to remember the past and to honor it, and to do our part for the victims and their families and the people who still don't know what happened to them.

Try to explin ~~what that it so important to us and to acknowledge that the VN had far more missing in action than we did and talk about what we've done to help them~~

Priase the national character but not at all in the context of the war.

The war has to be philosophical and non judgemental

Talk about he legacy of the war. Part is very painful. But par tof the legacy is that we have millions of americans who passed throug hvietnam as soliders and journalists. Aid workers and who came to know this countyr1 and to develop profound repsect

At least -
we know your "talent"
bec. the Viet Kin are
so
successful.

Lets

Strong personal connection to the country ~~8~~ million
vietnamese americans. Prosperous. I would made large point
about that. The real human connections between the two
countries. One quote you may want to steal from warren c. is
this old vn 16th century, after centuries of war only life
remains.

Do you make the point that in US hisotry we have become friends
and partners with former adversaries. Don't sound too naïve.
This past thing must have a tone of seriousness and realism. It
has taken us a long time to get to this point. The US.

Histically par of our national character is to build relations
with mutual respect with nations that have been our former
adversaries and to do so without forgetting the past.

Ever hopeful, forward-looking natur eo fhtemaeircan people to
identify common interests.

Confront the past as honestly as possible together not fo rthe
sake of recrimination but to honor those who have suffered and
lost. You don't forget the grievances that are real, but you
make an effort not to pile on and to make new grievances,
responsibility to the future as well as the past.

HaNoi, they don't give a shit about the war among this young
audience.

In terms of the future and persent.

Globalization -- these years we've been carefully sloely
gradully rebuilding our ties, the world has been changing
dramatically, rev. change.

Central theme is around the trade agreement and what it means.

I would steal a line from SRB speech -- china WTO agreement, and
they caled it china's declarationn of interdependence. *
Recognition that we can't succeed or survive unless we grow
together with other.

Trade agreement cuts to heart of contradictions that are
described in pierre's article.

The ykind of understand tha tafor teir economt dto do well thaty
have to eopn op toe griegin investment regulations traSNPACRENTY

OPEN MARKETS. Foreign investment has gone from 8 billion down to one billion in the last few years, huge plight.

Cite that statistic about lower foreign investment. But blunt, rush of foreign investors. Somehow that has to be turned around.

Make the point that Vietnamese Americans are prosperous, their diligent, etc. What's the difference between VN here -- none -- except for their freedom. A nation with people so diligent and strong is losing its greatest resource to the lack of freedom. If the people were less talented, they would lose less productivity by restriction.

When you restrict freedom, you restrict their talent, their energy, ingenuity, you lay down your excellence as a nation.

Declaration of interdependence. We can't self-reliance is self-deception. Use that line.

You have to prove that you can stand alone, but once having done that. Complete self-reliance is self-deception.

Declaration of interdependence. Play with that line and talk about independence coming first. Say something about VN

We're not just pawns in a big historical game. VN master of its own destiny and a product of its own history. Repudiation of domino theory. VN is not a square on a global chess board.

Try to show our appreciation of the fact that their aspirations are a product of their own experience.

Interdependence. R

Stability
~~Stability comes from change. Hardliners will say changes threaten stability, and stability is paramount value. We have to poke holes in assumptions without being too explicit about getting into their debate. One way is to do it in context of globalization.~~

We say adaptability
We're understanding this at the same time, our country and yours.

mean stability
In terms of policy -- economic reform and political reform. Economically what would the trade agreement mean. In terms of stakes taken and benefits.

World bank estimates what it would mean in terms of money and increased trade.

Rob rosen from NEC might have trade numbers that set the value of this agreement, what it means macro and micro.

NEC
Set value
of
trade
agreement.

We need to make transition from economic reform and trade agreement to the more contentious issue of political reform and human rights.

We have found all across asia that those economic conditions are more likely to flourish in societies open to different ideas that don't restrict their people's access to information and uphold the rule of law.

There are different way to you can get tat that. You have to get at it with some humility.

It took our conty a long time to build a more perfect union. -- how long till ~~lowmen~~ blacks got vote. Here's what we believe. state a few pricipels. State them in ways that a 21 years old vn student would find appealing. Every yong person should have access to every idea. And every piece of information that's avaiable to other people in ourhter areas of the world.

We shodl giv young peoepl the rools and education adnthe vvalued to make judgements, but we should trust them to make judgments. Something about rule of law. We bleiev ethat the law is not jdtut something that restricts what people can do, it restricts what gov't can go.

That should appela aot a country that is concenred above all with corruptpin. To make sure no one is above the law is to make sure there is an independent judiciary. I would say we bleiev every storngly that no county can impose it se values or way of life on any other. And we know from history that no country in the world is more dteermined to defend its right to shape its destingy than VN.

No one can interfere with VN's future developoment. It's not only wrong, you have proved it is impossible VN is doing to determine its own way. We say the people of VN should have a sya, and our relatiuosn with VN will be at their best whne that happen.s

we believe -
what do these words mean today?
Everyone mean everyone -
govt must respect rights
Law restricts what Govt can do

how does just say what people can't do; says what the govt cannot do - what people have to do



Thw whole point of preching our democracy. Is not to influent but to makes ure that the values of the VN people are refeltded in the policies of the VN govnt'erm

Conditions and progress of N. we have some self interest. Rule of law. We want enviroemt to be better for them. Turth is what's good for them is at least as good for vn companiesna dpeope of VN. That is the definitoin of common ground. Any change that benefits outsiders doing buisness in vietnam is going to benefit VN doing business in vietnam.. who also need predictable ideas of good government and accountable institutyions.

BTA - good for US business in Vietna -

Other isseu:

our interests converge

Ebnvironement

Infectgions disease

★ why are they eager to invest in Vietnam?

intelligence, energy - quote Compag.

Roll hese togethe in an "what we can do together section."

~~what does~~
what does
investment
mean - if

Not just about economics. There is a lot of interesting stuff to say about env. In vn species. Nedc to preserve, biodiversity. Then the practicaly necessity of protecting forrests to avoid flooding. believe

Drug resistant malaria.

Something going to grow and prosper -
you want to contribute to it + share in it.

Might end tiwth those issues as you come out of the more political stuff.

would like to help create

and share in the prosperity.

make this a section

Vietnamese americaasna nd personal stories. It should be more real and personal than we value our vietnamese americans...

In christopher speech he talked about vegetables. We can talk about a novel -- them is contributions to our society.

NOTE: expectations of youth are not being met. Look youth in the eye and say: these have been good times and hard time. The country has been at peace. For the first time in its history. Time when vn has emerged from isolation. Tade foreign investment. Time when young people nca finally be young. But at the same time, time of high expectatinos that have not only been met. Question: how for all the promise of this new economcyl vast majort are ot conncted to the internet.

Still trying to figure out how to feed their kids. Do you give up and say it didn't work, or you keep trying and say it hasn't gone far enough. To stop half way over the ravine.

What this trade agreement is about a decision to keep going.

Some people hardliners will say our relative isolation is a good thing, because we didn't suffer as much from the asian financial crisis. Make this into an explicit point.

You're right, you did not experience what s. korea experience. They started 8 times as rich as you, then they went to seven times as rich as you..

★ [Someone with no wealth taking pleasure in the bear market because it doesn't hurt them.

You may not suffer the downs, but you don't get the ups. You are insulated from the growth. That has taken s. korean thailand, taiwan into the modern world. After the crisis, they are still _____ percent better than they were ____ years ago.

It is a very promising time for Asia.

Make use of the comparisons with neighbors.

Subtle message: you can't get there by opening economic but not politics. You need to go further. It is not enough to take baby steps.

Not that it has gone too far, but hasn't gone far enough.

Now get into interdependence. Empower your people to take advantage of these realities.

VN has more to lose from restricting freedoms because its people are so energetic,

Pragmatic, not dogmatic.

Not dogmatism;

(Borrow a little from the tone of his stump speeches)
its pragmatism - it's what works

Belief in democracy that is growing all around the world is not dogmatism, not pragmatism. Having said that: make the argument young 22 vn doesn't care about marxism and democracy.

22 years old: I have the right to get on the internet, have the same opportunities and the same rights as government people. Newspapers with the same rights to publish as other country.

Of course young people should be trusted to make judgments. Who in VN should shape my country's destiny: I should, not just a bunch of old men. With appropriate phrases of Clintonesque humility.

I'm speaking on behalf of a country that has been struggling for more than 200 years. We haven't always gotten it right.

Agent orange will be their counterpoint to human rights.

Saying something to take the bite out of the agent orange, reparations notion.

Point: frame human rights issue that doesn't allow a quick retort on agent orange and reparations.

We're not here to refight the war in words. Let's praise those who are overcoming the past through their actions. Whether VN villagers help American families find their son or American vets return to help supply hospital in rural Vietnam - or VN American families coming back here to start businesses in partnership with those who stayed behind.

Doesn't mean for a moment giving up the conviction of the past. It means living it in a way that will work for the future.

Take advantage that like it or not we are linked by this painful history and we feel some sense of responsibility to make the future better.

That language and rhetoric should pervade this first part to it.

Randy Beardsworth -- Defense -- what can we say about Agent Orange, is this a moving target or have we settled our line on that.

We need to move on without giving up any of the cause or commitment, positive legacy on the war we have all these ties, VN, American, vets. Driving force in US behind better relations with VN was the vets.. driving political force in US for better relations is from veterans. They are pushing for VN trade agreement. They have a profound personal connection to VN it is complicated, it is conflicted. They are genuinely personally committed to the right kind of reconciliation. Pete Peterson. Remembers the past and honors people who suffered. But

No question we would not have done anything to improve relations without their support and without their leadership.

Those most committed to friendship are those who fought here and went through that experience and suffered, but developed a respect for VN and a personal connection, they don't want to see our relations reestablished.

Democracy is not our values, its opening the door to the expression of local values. It's the only system that by definition can't be imposed.

TED OSIUS CONVERSATION:

repeat

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perestroika without glasnost.

their biggest fear is that we have - greatest feat they have is that we have hidden agenda which is democratizaiton which, of course, we do. that is our belief - otherwise we wouldn't be pushing this.

Gamble on our side in the case of China. opponenets who are thinking the most would fear we are strengthening what down the road would become our enemy. we're making expensive for them to misbehave by brining them into instiutitons that insist on our rules.

vietnam:

priase of nation: since they adopted their doi moi policy (86), they have enjoyed relaly high rates of economic growth (which have delinced in the last few years), and they have joined ASEAN, which is huge. ASEAN was set up as a bulwark against communism. now they are members and have chaired ASEA.

they did huge thigns in 95

normalized relations with US

normalized relationship with UN
and joined ASEAN.

Joining ASEAN does not commit them to political changes, but does commit them to economic changes. ASEAN free trade area is looming years ahead. means they have to reduce the support they provide for their state owned enterprises. have to get the private sector up and running. they're terrified of small businesses, because they cannot control them as they can state owned enterprise. they like to have party cells in every enterprise. much harder to have that in small business of 25 people. certain amount of party control is lost at the extent that they let private sector flourish.

they've invited exchange with the rest of the world when they invite in foreign investors and open up to the internet. they're doing this as fast as the chinese are.

praise we want to praise the cooperation they have extended to us on POS MIA discovery. I can't think ever any country that they have given us the access they have given us. their policy has been top to bottom in every province. let them dig, search, just to find the remains of their fallen. there are a lot of nuts who think there is a POW behind every wall. we have had to run down a lot of false leads and the VN have been incredibly patient.

We need to acknowledge right at the top their cooperation.

doesn't hurt to acknowledge their long history of valuing education among all else. in the temple of literature is a couple thousand years old. Hanoi has always been the cultural and political capital and educational capital. business capital has been saigon.

process of getting french out was not complete until 54

in 45 - ho chi minh pushed out japanese. then french came back and pushed Ho into the mountains. north and northwest - two zones of influence, french in north and brits in south.

truman decided to support de Gaulle in indo china. 45 -54 ho vs. the french. by 54 he had top half of the country. then 54-75 that he was fighting to unite the country.

Hanoi - at one point way back - Hue was the imperial capital.
emperor lived in Hue. somewhere in 19th century.

great history book on vietnam. lots of underlinings. ted will
bring the book.

french missionaries brought romanized alphabet which helped
conditions to raise literacy rate, which you don't have in
countries with lot of characters. happened late 19 - early 20
century.

education and literacy are things you can do safely. don't want
to do fierce nationalism.

they have an unbroken history of war right up to fighting in
Cambodia in the eighties.

pretty chaotic after Pol Pot left power. 76 - 79 reign of
terror, then no one was in charge - this was communism at its
basic form. by the end of Pol Pot, there was nobody left to run
the country.

Chinese fought a border war with VN in 79. after Chinese
pulled back, VN went into Cambodia in 1980. they wanted to keep
China out. this was preemptive. it was a quagmire, they got
stuck there for nine years. not until 89 were they able to
extricate themselves. that.

they couldn't join ASEAN while they were invading one of their
neighbors.

they were getting materiel from China during the war, but also
economic and political support from USSR. our fear during VN
war was to prevent drawing China into it. we really didn't want
Chinese army to move in.

a lot of our talks with Chinese was to keep them from becoming
directly involved in the conflict. Kissinger was trying
constantly with his opening to China was trying to neutralize
the VN war as a superpower conflict. limit it to triage. do
damage and help us get out with honor.

VN historical enemy has always been China. yes Ho got support
from MAO, but for 900 VN was a southern province of China. even
the Chinese characters for VN means province in the south.

all the great battles in their history. they drove the chinese out from vietnam. The Choong sisters, plunged to death, because death was better than being seized by the chinese. warrior heroes were those that defeated chinese in various battle.s

900 year of chinese domination of VN ended sometime before french missionaries coming in in 18th century.

TOAST ideas:

new chapter, new relationship. end to old animosities. courage of vietnam's leaders in integrating into the world economy. providing opportunity for their children to enjoy prosperity. the fact that VN young people unlike their parents have grown up in peace. just an aside - 60percent of population. young country -

what's the religion situation in vn. what is it historically. and what is it under this government/

Amina findings:

More importantly, the theme revitalizes the teaching that is ingrained in every Vietnamese's heart since childhood, "Mot cay lam chang nen non, ba cay chum lai nen hon nui cao." Figuratively, the proverb means "By working together we can achieve much more than if we work alone."

"If you don't venture into the cave, how will you catch the tiger?" tells us that we must risk something in order to gain something. In English, our version of this expression is, "Nothing ventured, nothing gained."

Tom,

Here goes. You'll find attached information about:

1. The identification of an American soldier which would never have happened without the thoughtful action of some Vietnamese villagers.
2. A diary which a U.S. veteran gave back to the Vietnamese. He took this diary from a dead enemy soldier, but it contained notes and pictures of his loved ones. He wanted this soldier's family to have this diary, so they could treasure his final days as he fought on the battlefields of South Vietnam. We are unable to confirm whether or not the Vietnamese government has located this man's family, but the gesture of the U.S. veteran is one we

believe should be noted.

3. Information on another initiative, sponsored by several U.S. veterans organizations, which continues to lead the Vietnamese to sites where their dead were buried by U.S. or South Vietnamese forces.
4. Hospital records that we have discovered, pertaining to enemy soldiers, which may eventually lead to an accounting of their soldiers.
5. Results of several archival initiatives which has and will continue to produce U.S. documentation to assist the Vietnamese in accounting for their missing.
6. Training of their scientists to familiarize them with our use of mitochondrial DNA as one of the forensic tools we use to make final identification of remains.

You'll probably want to discuss some of these, and I'll be available here at (703) 602-1245, or later this evening and over the weekend at home at [REDACTED] P6(b)(6). From home, I can talk in generalities. Here, I do have some staff experts, when I can catch them.

Larry Greer
Defense POW/Missing in Action Office
(703) 602-1245

MEMORANDUM FOR CORRESPONDENTS

March 5, 1998

The remains of an American serviceman previously unaccounted-for from Southeast Asia have been identified and will be returned to his family for burial in the United States.

He is identified as U. S. Army Sergeant Douglas Alan Ross, of Temple City, Calif.

On January 22, 1969, Sgt. Ross's unit came under heavy enemy sniper and grenade attack in South Vietnam. He was reportedly struck in the head by enemy fire and died on the battlefield. The other members of his unit were forced to take cover in nearby caves and did not rejoin friendly forces until the following day. At that time, a search of the battlefield did not locate his remains.

*Somehow
amidst the
tragedy
+ grief -
a feeling of
good will was
not
destroyed*

In 1994, a joint U. S./Socialist Republic of Vietnam team visited surrounding villages and was told that no one lived in the vicinity of the battlefield during the war and none of the local villagers had any firsthand knowledge of the incident. The team also visited the battle site where they found evidence of defensive positions, but no other pertinent information. The investigators had no further leads to pursue.

But in 1997, Vietnamese villagers were searching a wooded area for scrap metal near the battlefield and discovered the remains of a U. S. soldier. They reported to their provincial officials who, in turn, passed the information to central government officials. These remains and some personal artifacts were passed to U. S. officials, and subsequently identified by the U. S. Army's Central Identification Laboratory Hawaii as those of Sergeant Ross.

With this identification, 2,096 Americans remain unaccounted-for from the Vietnam War.

The U. S. government welcomes and appreciates the cooperation of the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam which resulted in the accounting of this serviceman. We hope that such cooperation will bring increased results in the future. Achieving the fullest possible accounting for these Americans is of the highest national priority. ← *this is heart*

Note: Rapidity with which local villagers and government officials reacted to finding remains was above and beyond normal, routine procedure. Excellent initiative and cooperation here.

Why this time gap? August 2000 American Embassy passed to us (in Vietnam) a small personal diary and pocket-size photo album that an American veteran had taken from the body of a People's Army of Vietnam soldier who was killed on a battlefield in South Vietnam in mid-1967.

The American veteran had passed the items to the Embassy with a request that the Embassy find a way to return the items to the PAVN soldier's family. The Embassy asked us to examine the items, to extract any information the items might contain about missing Americans, and to provide a recommendation on how we might pass the items to Vietnamese officials.

The items did not contain any information about missing Americans.

The notes in the diary included the deceased soldier's thoughts of his home and family in North Vietnam as he progressed through his military training, movement to South

Vietnam, and combat duty in the South. The photo album contained photos of persons that appeared to be the deceased soldier's wife, child, mother, siblings, and friends.

The notes in the diary also included information that we believed may allow Vietnamese officials to confirm the deceased soldier's identity and locate his family.

The diary did not contain information that could help recover the deceased soldier's remains.

We and the Embassy agreed **the deceased soldier's family would treasure the photos and the record of his last thoughts of home and family.** We passed the items on behalf of the American Ambassador to the director of the Vietnamese Ministry of Defense's Policy Department, which is responsible for efforts to account for Vietnamese soldiers who were lost during the war.

We do not recommend releasing the name (one of several) found in the diary, as there is no confirmation that the Vietnamese government has been able to make contact with the family to turn over the diary. The gesture, however, by the U.S. veteran, is clearly a humanitarian one, with the interest of the Vietnamese family at heart.

Selected Areas of Interest
U.S. Assistance to Vietnam
To
Account for their Missing

- Several U.S. veterans organizations have for several years operated a "Veterans Initiative" whereby they encourage their membership to turn over information or artifacts they may have collected during the war that might assist the Vietnamese in accounting for their mission. For some U.S. veterans, this is a hard sell, especially when they witnessed the death and destruction seen throughout the Vietnam War. But many have stepped forward, and working through their own private organizations, presented information or artifacts to the Vietnamese, with positive outcome. One such vet was Jim Kapucinski, Bay Village, Ohio. In 1968, he was engaged in a fierce all-night battle at LZ Grant with enemy forces. The following morning, he witnessed South Vietnamese forces dig a mass burial pit, and place enemy soldiers in it. Following the end of the war, he kept his map which indicated the exact location of the battle and the burial. When the first Veterans Initiative delegation traveled to Vietnam, they carried with them Jim Kapucinski's map. Thanks to his humanity, and concern for other families like his, the Vietnamese were able to excavate that site and found 95 bodies of their fellow soldiers. Jim Kapucinski is quoted as saying, "I know they believe in praying to their ancestors. To me,

(when was this?)

!

want more about how they helped - to so
DON'T - can't thank them

them not knowing where their loved ones were, and how that they've located them, makes me feel good. I could picture myself with my three kids or even just one of my daughters missing for 20-some years and someone saying to me we found your daughter's remains. I know how I would feel. It would be a big relief to me -- or to the Vietnamese -- to find a missing child. It's very important."

- U.S. Defense Department archivists have just this month uncovered in U.S. archives documents which show hospital treatment and final disposition of captured enemy soldiers. Some were released, but some died in captivity. These archivists are now seeking to correlate their initial findings with more detailed medical records, and will turn them over to the Vietnamese to assist them in determining the fates of those Vietnamese soldiers who did not return from the war.
- In late 1999, our archivists discovered documents in our National Archives which we believed would be of interest to the Vietnamese, pertaining to their missing in action. We invited four of their archivists to visit Washington to review these documents. We also took them to several archival holdings in the area. While the visit was ongoing, we learned that the U.S. Marine Corps was collating many of their archives, also pertaining to unaccounted-for Vietnamese, and we presented their archivists with 45 CD ROMs (390,000 pages) of material. The remaining portion of the CD ROM collection is to be presented to the Vietnamese during the President's visit. It will total 150 CD ROMs, containing 1.2 million pages. Additionally, we have already shipped their archivists 200 pounds of other documents, all related to their MIA soldiers.
- As part of the Secretary of Defense's commitment to assist the Vietnamese in their accounting work, we have extended an invitation to the Vietnamese government for two of their scientists to join us early next year. The purpose of their visit will be to familiarize them in our use of mitochondrial DNA as one of the forensic tools we use to help identify American remains.

This may be the more precise translation we are looking for.

In a United Nations Development Program document on Vietnam, Mr. Le Quang Duat urges people to join in on anti-poverty efforts by saying, "There is an old Vietnamese

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Who is this guy?
is he prominent
at UN + VN

announce
★

also announce

proverb that says one tree is nothing, but three trees close together can make a mountain. That's what these people are becoming-- a mountain."

More importantly, the theme revitalizes the teaching that is ingrained in every Vietnamese's heart since childhood, "Mot cay lam chang nen non, ba cay chum lai nen hon nui cao." Figuratively, the proverb means "By working together we can achieve much more than if we work alone."

"If you don't venture into the cave, how will you catch the tiger?" tells us that we must risk something in order to gain something. In English, our version of this expression is, "Nothing ventured, nothing gained."

*Opening up means
opening up to the talent
+ ingenuity +
Capital of the
Viet Kieu*

I am still trying to find some recent numbers, but here is what i have so far:

New laws are encouraging returnees, or Viet Kieu, to invest and take part in their homeland's emerging open economy. Legislation passed last year allows Viet Kieu to purchase property in Ho Chi Minh City and regulations have been eased on cash sent from Viet Kieu to relatives in Vietnam. An April 14, 2000 article in Asiaweek discusses the Viet Kieu; "some have returned, bringing money and, equally important, new ideas and management skills." A 1997 Los Angeles Times article writes that, "time has opened some paths through the minefield of reconciliation. Today, increasing numbers of young Viet Kieu are accepting the invitation of a government that wants to tap into their economic strength and brainpower." This group of returning Vietnamese is largely California-based and are, "in the end, a bridge helping two countries overcome the animosities of a devastating war."

while grateful to

11/4/97 Los Angeles Times:

"Andrew Hien, 35, a former San Jose resident who is now a marketing consultant in Ho Chi Minh City, observed, 'Being here is like being on a frontier. There is so much opportunity, it's electric. And it's exciting because we're the first generation to come back to contribute to the rebuilding of Vietnam, not just profit from it.'"

*their adopted
country, have deep
hopes + by
aspirations
for the
land of their ancestors*

4/14/00, Asiaweek

Compaq's Dilip Phadke, who flew to Vietnam with his company to host seminars on Internet infrastructure in Hanoi, comments, "The response has been remarkable. The Vietnamese are enthusiastic, eager and ready to go."

International Cooperation at The Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Recently, VNU has developed close relationships and cooperation with roughly 90 higher education institutions, research institutes and educational organizations all over the world, including Australia, France, Japan, and the United States. VNU has opened itself up to valuable student and staff exchanges that range from joint research activities to sharing library materials and academic publications. On the foundations of mutually signed agreements, many of these projects have been implemented, thus "helping to strengthen the development potential of VNU, improve its physical facilities and upgrade its academic staff." Vietnam National University

useless

*find some
distinction*

some history
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

"encourages and appreciates further international linkages for mutual benefits and the overall development of higher education."

MEMORANDUM TO JOSHUA GOTTHEIMER
FROM: AMINA OSMAN
SUBJECT: NONZERO, BY ROBERT WRIGHT

A "Non-Zero" sum is a game in which both players can win, or lose together.

"Non -Zero Sumness" is how Robert Wright defines his basic premise: society moves along a path that leads to mutual interest.

- Civilization, since its beginnings, seeks out new technology to achieve its goals.
- The advent of these technologies increases the complexity of society, i.e. the web of a citizen's relationships becomes more intricate, industry becomes more effective and varied.
- The more complex and developed a society becomes, the more interdependent its citizens become.
- The final result of this interdependent society is an increasing number of overlapping interests.

Members of society are increasingly involved in more mutually beneficial relationships. Wright asserts that this evolution towards interdependence creates an environment that makes the "global village" a most probable destiny for the human race.

This mutual interest can be harnessed to the advantage of all players. There doesn't always have to be winners and losers in order to achieve success. In this increasingly complex global world, success will come to those who create policies and practices that strive towards positive non-zero sums or gains for all players.

Robert Wright lays out a view of humanity that is convincingly logical and healthfully idealistic. Society is not aimless; there is a "point" to it all. We all have basic strivings in common and we all want what is most profitable, this is natural and good. The key to a broadly successful global village is not forced equality, but a governance that recognizes and addresses common interests.

The President has summarized Wright's premise by saying, "The argument is that the more complex societies grow, and the more interconnected we all get, the more interdependent we become, the more we have to look for nonzero sum solutions. He basically argues that if you look at it over the whole sweep of history, it is a good thing that we are growing, A, more complex, and B, more interdependent, because it forces us to try to find solutions in which we all win, instead of solutions in which some of us win at everybody else's expense. That is, solutions in which we all win, instead of solutions in which I win at your expense."

interdependence has always been preferable, but society has not demanded it before and it does now.

I can't win unless I help you win

this is microeconomy the case

Wright argues that "relations among nations are growing more non-zero sum year by year." Trading information and working together becomes increasingly beneficial—the Internet empowers an increasing number of individuals and businesses, countries unite to make better products, and nations increasingly join collaborative groups such as the IMF and WTO.

Wright suggests that civilization's current state, infiltrated by the turmoil of ~~rough~~ regimes, militias, weapons of mass destruction, natural disaster, less cohesive nations, and speedy financial speculation, marks a storm that is on the brink of calm. A new equilibrium is on the horizon, but we must act to ensure that it is achieved. We could use the power of our non-zero sumness and unite to the advantage of all of our mutual interests or just plain lose out. The Ideas or Weightless Economy, the declining relevance of distance, and liberation by technology are not new ideas; they are trends along Wright's path to global governance. Wright argues that in this new millennium, we have a unique opportunity to voluntarily submit to "Non-Zero" and look for policies, practices and relationships that benefit the community of the world.

President Clinton remarks, "It's not a naive book. He says, hey look, there's still going to be an election for President. One person wins, one person loses. There's still going to be choices for who wins the company or who gets the pulpit. There will be choices. It's not a naive book. But he says that, on balance, great organizations and great societies will have to increasingly look for ways for everyone to win, in an atmosphere of principle compromise, based on shared values, maximizing the tools at hand."

The
calm
storm
the
brink
of
the
calm

Point is —
you can't leave
people out of your plan —
when your scheming about
how to make money + how to divide
it up — everybody better get
a cut, or you're not going
to hold on to your
Increasingly so —
Call ~~that~~
some savings that long ago —
the benefits

Something to chase on Bill Plante's
wife's went to Vietnam and
saw the wreckage of her
dad's plane that went down.

Brian Quinn - univ. students an urban group - middle class or upper class vietnamese, kids with access to info. if you ask concerns aren't too different, how do they pay for school. no Pell grant program. they have to come up with the cash themselves. they are working at the same time. univ not free. one hundred dollars a year in tuition. they pay a third of per capita income. sacrifice. cover room and board. no one else to help em. some working in cafes. spate of articles in vietnam about women prostitution to cover tuition.

bit of insecurity. they look out and don't always see - vietnamese most want to stay, not so interested in moving. they would like to work for a foreign company, young people get responsibility earlier. sometimes have to wait 30 years for experience in vietnam.

they like the opportunity. There has been very little said about what the BTA means for the students. much will require drastic changes in state gov't so those negotiating want to keep it quiet. POTUS should talk a little bit about what this BTA means. senior at Univ, no recruiting program, they're on their own. "Look, your life will be better, you will have more opportunities. ^{US} love to be able to hire you and give you responsibility. ^{companies}

hierarchy of foreign companies. worst koreans and taiwanese. second level japanese. next level is europeans, best companies to work for are american company. willing to give people responsibility and let people do their own things. if people have a choice between.

these folks - all born 1976 77. war is old news. poverty is real. what is america. they don't know. they know it's something good. they may have cousins in the US.

you get positive impressions of US make it through controlled media.

There was just a report in Washington Post about protest in ho chi minh city, its happening across the street from downtown campus of ho chi minh city. has not grown - even though next to university, if they don't care about political care about money.

stay with a very positive future oriented message. PM came to Harvard about four years ago. Joe Biden asked: what about peaceful evolution. PM said: "look successful countries cannot afford to be afraid of the future. they can't afford to waste time.

these students don't know about these films. but they know Cannes, don't use film allegories, has brought a positive picture of Vietnam.

leisure and fun. sit around in coffee shops, karaoke bars. inordinate people sitting around in coffee shops.

value talking about drug culture. these kids are tempted by drugs. heroin around. US example - our young people face the problem of drugs, how we keep them away. problems that we share. policy level types. major social crisis.

I'm looking for work.

tale of Kieu == look for a passage where she has escaped and still has hope for the future.

soccer crazy - he should have the scores handy.

two years ago they lost in the final against Singapore. next tiger cup. the one player who is the big star - Le Huynh Duc

Lay Hwin Dook. He is the Michael Jordan of Vietnamese soccer. he's at 28. if POTUS has free time, he should get this guy at a reception. make reference to game.

one argument against reform, we're a small country, how can we compete. Amb. Peterson says: Vietnam doesn't need to be afraid. Vietnam can compete.

one person won a gold medal in the Olympics, judo, Tae Kwon Do.

Can Vietnam succeed in the international world. the best in the world. she's 21 years old. her story, from a fishing village in southern Vietnam, her family didn't even know. some reporter came to their door. your sister just won the gold medal. no phone or internet - reporter.

every year they get a group of 15 16 year olds and they come back with gold medals. math and physics. sent six four came back with gold. talked to good physicists and mathematicians.

check if some past winners are in National University. some may be in the hall right there.

they will be very excited. these kinds of vents outside speakers are not very common. they will understand the import.

Ciao --

they appreciate the attempt to speak the language.

xin chao cac ban

Sin (please) Chao (hello) cac ban -

make sure potus gets correct - Dai

Dai

If he is touching base with what the kids are interested in - soccer, int'l success of judo gold medalist. he will have them on his side. drug problem. jobs. future is the trade agreement. opportunity that it brings it doesn't.

find out if people are in the hall. ---

home - brian quinn -

mobile phone:



[002a]

Stanley Karnow:

I think - this trip can rank with nixon's trip to china. no president has been to vietnam since or even befor ethe war, johson flew over in 66 to give a pep talk to the soldiers.

two audiences - us vn - in terms of american audience - vietnam haunts american but it doesn't haunt vietnam. let's talk about american side. I don't thin he ought ot go into history. same message is useful in both respects - let's look forward rather than look back.

no apology -

anecdote when McNamara went a few years ago, he talked to commanders - let's both admit we made mistakes they said: "we didn't make any mistakes, you did."

I still find in American public people who remember the war are confused about what went wrong. Vietnam has now become a buzzword for other adventures in the world.

We're moving forward from this - without saying it was a blunder.

from Vietnamese point of view - young population. They don't talk about the war. I gave a talk last year on the war, they could not have been interested. They want to know about high-tech. Very chic to be American in Vietnam now.

I've been going back since the end of the war. Nobody ever criticizes you. Fall of Saigon in 75 was a debacle but not a disaster. We thought it would be the end of the world and American prestige. American is still a beacon. Only people anti-American are terrorists and French intellectuals.

US represents high-tech opportunity, represents a booming economy, a consumer revolution.

Gen's wife said one day - old time communist, "I see scenes of America on television. I think American should be our model."

Consumer revolution has replaced Marxist revolution.

You see signs up and down the street for English lessons. Hundreds of books of English dictionaries, business English.

MAKE SURE YOU WRITE IN A WAY THEY CAN UNDERSTAND IN ENGLISH

was in the mountains in April, farmer lives in a shanty in two rooms. In one room there was a computer, 14 years old kid was on the computer showing me how he was learning English.

used speakers windows 95 - learning English by internet access.

he's going to be a doctor. I'm an advisor to the memorial wall. We went over with a group of veterans. Jim Chimsee, one of founders of AOL. Guy called Christos, president of e-

treade, former president of merrill Lynch. they brought computers with them in April.

I sent over to brooke anderson - I thought it would be interesting to take some of these guys over.

Christow is dealing with landmines. we have these computers - we gave a bunch of computers to a scholl in Hanoi. I just talked about what you put in a computer. kids are avid for that stuff.

bobby muller (202 483 9222) is a good guy, he is a paraplegic one of founders of vietnam veterans of america. a lot of these guys did not want to join american legion or VFW. they wanted to start their own thing. Bobby is not running it any more but active, he has gotten into landmines.

Jan scruggs - he organized this trip we went on in april. His number is 202 393 0090. the guy who built the wall.

I don't know if there was any cohesive reconciliation drive but a lot of guys went over, there is a viet name veterans of american office in Hanoi. guys went over in NGOs to do things.

why? a lot of guys felt that there was a sense fo (guilt). the guys, there was a tone we were paying back in a way. not that they were apologizing. they wanted to do someting. each guy had his own agenda. the feeling that vietnam was such an important part of their lives. the guys I went with - bobby muller is in a wheelchair, shot two weeks after he got there).

these other guys - high powered guys, they went to nam at 25 or 26 , first trip back , they went back to battlefields, very wrenching experience. so it's guy going back to omaha beach. I gather -

John Kerry very active in anti-war.

All these guys feel this affinity. I go back to what I said earlier, ranks with nixon's trip to china. that had to do with big power relationships. ranks in the sense of vietnam being an american experience. the most divisive episode since the civil war.

There is a mountain Dalat - I go on these trips. so I decided to peel off of the trip and went to Dalat to do a travel piece.

about half hour flight north of saigon. one of those old colonial enclaves built by the french.

30,000 - these are ofr my own story. like these places the british built. french town big old hotel and restaurants.

nothing left but flavor. we drove out to the countrwise, big flower-growing area. just went out to some farm that grew flowers, poked around and started talking to the farmer,. there he was, his kid showed me the computer.

two rooms no plumbing. electricity - modem, phone service.

14 year - man wife three children. his sister helped them on the farm.

you go out to the countryside, no plumbing, kitchen, they cook on little coal stoves, over all the houses you see television aerials. the tv set has become - there are stages here, I've been going - served in asia in second world war. go back a long way. if I go back 50 years, I started going to asia.

big thing was a transistor radio. you'd see a kid on a water buffalo in the middle of a rice field. listening to a transistor radio. then tv. everyone now has. now we go to computer and internet. these three stages. everyone has a cell phone.

vallely's theme: you have all the elements to be successful. you have the ability but question is do you have the will.

plagued by corruption and red tape and bureaucracy. you can't preach to them. very stubborn, and intensely xenophobic and nationalistic, that's why they won the war.

I was there a few years ago with business gourp. chair of communist party committee on saigon insisted on giving a speech, ultra nationalistic speech "don't come in here and tell us what to do."

friend of mine who works for gov't. she had to tone it down in translation.

christopher gave a talk at Univ of Hanoi. I believe he preached ot them about human rights. I don't think they broadcast it.

have to talk about human rights, don't know how to do it.

you can use nothing is more precioys than freedom and indpence, and use the ambiguity.

I think they recoil from the term globalizaiton. it scares them again. vietnam and cuba are really lagging behind the rest of the world. they're very worried about losing their authority.

communism is no longer an ideology; it's a mafia.

Andrew Pierre - he said ideology is alive. but they go to the marxist lien inst, because that's how you get jobs, connections, kickbacks.

stanley karnow -

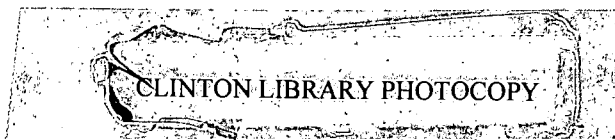
thing about the vietnamese they really are marvelous. they are so adaptable. like the chinese, see what they've done in the unitedstates, kids in high tech. second generaiton. they have terrific potential. they have to be unleashed. they have to do it themselevs. but we can say we're here to help you do it.

not because we ant to atone, or think, because it's in our mutual interest.

from gerald epstein at OSTP

Tom - understand you are drafting the President's remarks at Vietnam National University in Hanoi. I have been working with Randy Beardsworth, Gene Christy, Greg Hicks at State, and the interagency on our proposed joint research program with the Vietnamese on the health effect of dioxin (the component of Agent Orange suspected of causing health problems). I think Greg has sent you a barrage of material for the speech; and somewhere in there should have been a point on this program. I wanted to reiterate that we would like the President to include a bit in his speech emphasizing the importance of the topic; stressing the science; and expressing the hope for eventual internationalization. Something like the following, turned into appropriate Presidential-ese:

Both of our nations have concerns about protecting our citizens from dioxin pollution, and we both give high priority to understanding the health risks of dioxin contamination. Indeed, this important topic is of interest to researchers and governments around the world. I am very encouraged that Vietnamese and American scientists will meet later this month to discuss a joint research program on dioxin health effects in Vietnam -- a program that I hope can expand to include broad international participation. I look forward to a successful program -- one of the



I should have several more bits and pieces for you in a day or two. For now, I want to close with something you will almost certainly not be able to use. In 1974, the poet Van Le, visiting the province of Quang Tri, wrote the following poem, titled simply "Quang Tri":

Everywhere we dug there were white bones.
What could we do? Could we just leave them?
What kind of foundation would they make for our house?

My friends were perplexed. Were they our bones or their bones?

No, I told them, there are no American bones here.
The Americans left years ago and took their bones with them.
These skeletons, scattered all over our land,
Belong only to Vietnamese.

(Translated by Nguyen Ba Chung and Bruce Weigl)

If the president wanted to do something really important, he would revoke the policy that US - VNese relations are contingent upon the recovery of all American MIAs. There are millions of VNese MIAs that will never be found--in a culture that honors the bones of ancestors, this causes a profound psychological dislocation. When Secretary of Defense Cohen recently visited VN he reiterated this policy while at the same time saying that the US WANTED TO NORMALIZE relations. The two positions are self-contradictory; the US policy has been driven by a cult-like group of POW/MIA fanatics who have been give unprecedented power to make foreign policy. If he wants to really advance the cause of US VN relations, rather than just pay lip-service to it, the president would end this misguided policy. By acknowledging the VNese dead, the president could make a profound contribution to a deep and full peace between our nations.

Highlights of OPL Briefings in Preparation
for the Vietnam Trip

Briefing for the Veterans Community
October 10, 2000

Briefers: Gene Christy (NSC Asia)
Randy Beardsworth (NSC Defense)
Bob Jones (DoD POW/MIA Office).
Ken Steadman (VA)

Main Questions/Suggestions:

- ✓ It would not go over well if POTUS took a business delegation and no veterans.
- ✓ Will POTUS refer to POW/MIA issue as "most important" or are economic relations a higher priority for him?
- ✓ Will issues that have plagued veterans, like Agent Orange, be raised?
- ✓ POW/MIA issue should be in forefront, but there is a need to "get on with it." It is time to put the past behind and go to Vietnam to do what needs to be done.
- ✓ POTUS should go to south Vietnam to talk about economic opportunity. Tremendous difference between what he'd see in Saigon/Ho Chi Minh City. A visit to Saigon carries a lot of symbolism.
- ✓ Some veterans are protesting this trip, and it would ease their concerns if he addressed POW/MIA issue in advance of the trip and on the trip.
- ✓ POTUS participation in a joint excavation site might evoke passions - but he is Commander in Chief, so needs to address this issue.
- ✓ Participation in the repatriation ceremony is critical.
- ✓ Importance of discussing humanitarian issues.

Briefing for the Business Community

October 4, 2000

Briefers: Gene Christy
Ambassador Richard Fisher

Main Questions/Suggestions:

- ✓ Need for dialogue with Congress around the trip. Congress should move forward on Bilateral Trade Agreement (BTA) ratification and Administration should urge Vietnam to fulfill its obligations to ensure faithful implementation of BTA.
- ✓ U.S.-Asian Business Council will organize business mission to Vietnam and plan to be in Ho Chi Minh City at same time as POTUS (want to do an event with him.) [Note: U.S.-ASEAN Business Council has now joined to do a single business mission.]
- ✓ Will POTUS raise human rights and labor issues?
- ✓ Business community would like opportunity to brief CODEL if there is one.

Vietnamese-American Community

October 13, 2000

Briefers: Gene Christy

Joseph Damond (USTR)

Bennett Freeman (State/Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor)

Main Questions/Suggestions:

- ✓ Need for improvements in attitudes of Vietnamese officials toward the rights of Vietnamese Americans.
- ✓ Vietnamese-Americans should be included in official delegation.
- ✓ Need to address issue of sex trafficking of women and children.
- ✓ The United States should push for the protection of Amerasians in Vietnam and facilitate their getting American citizenship.
- ✓ When Secretary Cohen was in Vietnam, the Vietnamese pushed for an official apology from the U.S. The United States should not do that and should look toward the future.
- ✓ POTUS should bring up the following issues: Vietnamese soldiers from the Vietnamese War, high ranking communist leaders who became dissidents. He should also push for democracy and reform, devise an institutional arrangement for foreign aid.
- ✓ The United States should provide humanitarian assistance for flood victims in the Mekong Delta.
- ✓ While the Agent Orange dialogue focuses only on compensating war veterans, there is also the need to bring up health and environmental implications.
- ✓ There are tremendous resources in the private sector because Vietnamese entrepreneurs have achieved financial success and would like to direct their success to philanthropic work in Vietnam.
- ✓ POTUS should recognize importance of NGOs in the normalization of U.S.-Vietnam relations; should push Vietnamese officials to embrace NGO efforts.
- ✓ The United States should apply constant pressure on Vietnam to uphold human rights.
- ✓ The United States should push for freedom of the press in Vietnam - essential for achieving a transparent environment.
- ✓ Need to close the chapter of the War and look toward the future. Free market is best way to increase democracy and freedom.

Briefing for Human Rights, Religious, Labor and Service Community

October 20, 2000

1:30-2:30 PM, Eisenhower Executive Office Building Room 450

Opening Remarks

Laura Efurd, Deputy Director of the Office of Public Liaison welcomed the participants to the briefing. She stated that the purpose of the briefing was not only to plan the trip to Vietnam, but to also get their input about the trip. Ms. Efurd asked that the participants not speak about the meeting to the media.

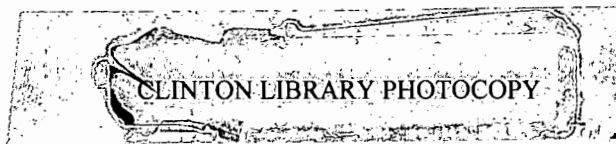
Gene Christy of National Security Council welcomed the participants, and stated that the President's visit to Vietnam is historic. The White House and the Vietnamese government want to look forward to the future, so there will be lots of focus on the Bilateral Trade Agreement signed on July 13. The White House will also want to acknowledge the role of the Vietnamese government since it joined ASEAN, and the President will explore with the Vietnamese increasing their participation in APEC.

Assistant Secretary Harold Koh of the State Department stated that human rights has been a long-time focus of the United States in relations to Vietnam. The State Department has conducted 8 rounds of dialogues with Vietnam over the past several years, of which the last dialogue occurred in June 2000. Assistant Secretary Koh acknowledged that the last dialogue was honest and forthright, and focused on: prisoners of concern, freedom of press and internet, and freedom of religion.

Question and Answer

Steve McFarland of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom stated that the freedom to practice religion is getting worse in Vietnam, especially for the Hoa Hao and the Montagnards. He asked what the approach will be to address these issues. Assistant Secretary Koh responded that the President's trip should emphasize the main themes of religious freedom at the highest level to show that the issues are important to the U.S., but that the detailed discussion is best focused at the annual dialogue through the State Department.

Andrew Wells of the Asia Pacific Center for Justice and Peace said that although progress has been made in the US-Vietnam relations, he asked if the President will continue to keep up the progress, such as providing for scholarships for students in Vietnam. He also asked whether the President will acknowledge the problems, such as Agent Orange, and look for solutions. Mr. Christy responded that the trip is still in the planning phase, and that the U.S. is working on several issues with Vietnam, such land de-mining, and Agent Orange. The developing relation on Agent Orange is framed in cooperation, and will be referred to in public and private talks that the President has with the Vietnamese government. The apology issue will be handled but most likely framed as closing chapter of the war, and looking towards the future. Since Vietnam is a young country with little direct memory of the war, the young people have different issues and



views of the war. Mr. Christy added that in terms of education, Senator Kerry has developed an idea that is being looked at, but the President does want to respond to issues of education

Hai Tran of the International Committee for Freedom to Support the Non-Violent for Human Rights in Vietnam recommended that the President focus on religious freedom, as religion is controlled by the government. After the devastation of the flood, Reverend Thich Quang Do was arrested for his work to help flood victims. He asked that the President have a reception with political prisoners, so that the President could have a dialogue with them.

Max Niedzwiecki of the Southeast Asia Resource Action Center recommended that the President encourage Vietnam to: 1) implement decree 177 which allows independent Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) to do work in Vietnam, 2) not harass Vietnamese Americans while they are in Vietnam for business, and 3) not reopen issues of Vietnamese refugees in administrative detention in the U.S., as it is inhumane to repatriate refugees to Vietnam.

Thuyen Nguyen of the Vietnam Labor Watch said that he has heard rumors that the President may visit the Nike plant in Vietnam, which he believes would send the wrong message. Mr. Nguyen claimed that Nike represents the worst type of labor conditions, with low pay and use of child labor, and that Nike has tried to undermine labor rights in Vietnam. Mr. Christy responded that the President's schedule is still being developed, and that the vetting process on where the President will visit is intense. He also said that the Bilateral Trade Agreement will have a significant impact in the # of areas and that although labor is not directly linked to the Agreement, it is still related to the Agreement.

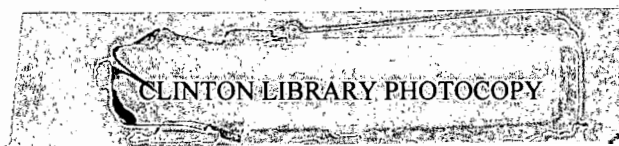
James Bishop of InterAction asked if the President will visit a site where an American NGO is engaged in work. Mr. Christy responded that the President frequently does so while traveling abroad, and currently the NSC is collecting a wide variety of American NGOs in Vietnam. Mr. Christy welcomed additional examples of possible site visits.

Reverend Thich Van Dam recommended that the President visit an NGO because it will help boost Vietnamese and U.S. relations.

Ann Hoffman of Unite, stated that because the textile part of the Bilateral Trade Agreement has not been completed, she hopes that the President will let the Vietnamese know that the White House will be under pressure from textile labor groups. Mr. Christy said that the Bilateral Trade Agreement ratification is an issue for the next Congress, but there is a broad awareness of the issues that will need to be dealt with.

Sang Tran of the International Institute for Vietnam said that political prisoners are his main concern, and asked the President to bring up the specific case of Professor Nguyen Dinh Huy (sp??). Assistant Secretary Koh asked Mr. Tran to send the information on Professor Huy to his staff.

Rich Raner of the Association of Vietnam (not on the list ????) said that he had secret state Vietnamese documents of elaborate plans to arrest people and reverse efforts of different groups, especially the Mountain people. In these documents Mr. Raner says that the President and



Ambassador Peterson. He thanked the Administration for their help, and also noted that so much effort is being wasted by restricting NGO use in Vietnam.

Chau Nguyen of the overseas Hoa Hao Buddhist Association stated that most major religions are suppressed, and the religious leaders are harassed. He urged the President to meet with religious dissident leaders, such as Thich Quang Do and Whey Lu Lin (sp??), because what the image that the Vietnamese government presents to the State Department is highly polished.

Frank Smyth of the Committee to Protect Journalists said that his group is concerned with the restriction of the internet, and recommended that the President meet with General Giap who has made comments about the need to democratize and lift the ban on the internet in Vietnam. He also urged the President to raise the case of writer, Ha Sy Fu (sp??).

Steve Young of the International Committee to Free Vietnam emphasized the need for the President to discuss issues of democracy when in Vietnam. He also urged the President to: 1) go to Ho Chi Minh City, 2) meet with Truong Do to show the President's commitment to democracy, 3) put his thoughts in writing, 4) read Young To Hoon's novel, and mention the novel to the Vietnamese, 5) encourage the Vietnamese to have a time table for a free and fair election, and 6) spend time with dissidents or religious leaders. He also said that the Vietnamese-Americans hope that the President's visit will lead to increased visibility of human rights in Vietnam, and the Bilateral Trade Agreement is good if it is used as a tool for democracy.

Mike Jendrzeczyk of Human Rights Watch asked if the President will take the First Lady or Congressional members, as they can do things that the President cannot do. He also suggested that the President to do a radio or television address in Vietnam. Mr. Jendrzeczyk urged the President to use maximum leverage to negotiate for tangible outcomes before the trip. Mr. Christy responded that it has not been decided who will go on the trip, especially whether the First Lady or cabinet members will accompany the President. It has also not been decided whether the President will do a radio or TV address. The White House understands that it is important to negotiate before the trip, and that President always raises religious freedom and human rights issues wherever he goes.

Le Van Tien, a journalist, said that he hopes that the president will comeback from Vietnam with some idea of what it is like to work in Vietnam with no benefits, and low pay. He stated that most companies have foreign investments but lack transparency or rule of laws. Mr. Tien would like the President to make the Hanoi government understand the importance of human rights and religious freedom.

Closing

Assistant Secretary Koh thanked participants for their input at the meeting, and said that any additional comments can be sent in written form to his office.

Mr. Christy said that the trip is still in its planning phase, but he reminded the audience that the President's discussions in Vietnam will take place on two different levels: private and public.



Ms. Efurd wrapped up the briefing by thanking people for attending the briefing, and reminded everyone that the discussions in the meeting were not to be shared with the media.

Vietnam Briefing for the Vietnamese American Community

October 13, 2000

11:00-1:30 PM, Roosevelt Room

Opening Remarks

Laura Efurd of the Office of Public Liaison welcomed participants to the meeting, and introduced the speakers who would be addressing the participants. She also asked participants not to discuss the meeting with the media.

Gene Christy of the National Security Council welcomed the participants, and stated that the President's visit to Vietnam is historic and sets the stage for US-Vietnam relations. The White House and the Vietnamese government want to look forward to the future, so there will be lots of focus on the Bilateral Trade Agreement. The President will emphasize the importance of the Vietnamese joining ASEAN, and encourage their activity in APEC. Mr. Christy stated that it would not be possible for the President to do this trip without the cooperation of the Vietnamese on the POW/MIA issue, and the President will look for opportunities to underscore the importance of human rights and religious freedom in Vietnam.

Joseph Damond of the United States Trade Representative for Asia and the Pacific stated that the Bilateral Trade Agreement has been a long process, and was signed this past July. Vietnam had to quickly learn international trade rules. In order for Vietnam to receive normal trade relations the Bilateral Trade Agreement must be ratified by Congress, and Vietnam must abide by Jackson-Vanik immigration waiver.

Bennett Freeman of the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor at the U.S. Department of State stated that human rights and religious freedom are crucial issues on the President's diplomatic agenda. Mr. Freeman noted that the Vietnamese government has recently been more willing to substantively engage with the U.S. on human rights issues, and the U.S. is working with other countries with interests in Vietnam on these issues. The U.S. uses 3 major mechanisms to raise issues to the Hanoi government: 1) through Vietnamese Americans, 2) through Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), and 3) through the U.S. embassy in Hanoi. The State Department engages in a series of structured human rights dialogue once a year with the Vietnamese government. Mr. Freeman reported that the substantive issues from the June 2000 dialogue were:

- 1) Human Rights – Release of particular prisoners of concern, such as religious or political prisoners; Treatment of released prisoners; Allow international observers to watch Vietnamese trials; Freedom of press; Lift the restriction on the internet; Ethnic minorities living in Vietnam, such as the Montagnards
- 2) Religious Freedom – Promote religious freedom, especially on Catholicism, Buddhism and non-registered religious groups, such as Protestantism, Cal Dai (sp??), and Hoa Hao; Recognize all religions; Lift the ban on religious materials
- 3) Worker's Rights – International Labor Organization encourages Vietnamese to ratify child labor worker rights

Questions/Comments and Answers/Responses

Questions/Comments

Dang Pham of the San Francisco Commission on Immigrant Rights stated that he would like to see improvement in the rights of Vietnamese Americans in Hanoi. When Vietnamese Americans do business in Hanoi they are harassed by the Vietnamese government, and 90% of their VISAs are denied. Mr. Pham would also like to see the State Department move forward with the case of Reverend Thi Quan Do (sp??)

Jackie Bong Wright of the Vietnamese Voters Association in Virginia said that the issue of sex trafficking of women and children in Vietnam needed to be addressed. In addition, the United States should push for protection of Amerasians in Vietnam, and facilitate their American citizenship.

Viet Dinh of Georgetown Law School commented that when Secretary Cohen was in Vietnam, the Vietnamese pushed for an official apology from the U.S. Mr. Dinh hopes that the U.S. will resist making an apology, and hopes that the U.S. will look towards the future.

Hung Nguyen of George Mason University stated that he is glad that this trip is a historic and not a symbolic visit. He urged the President to bring up the following issues 1) Vietnamese soldiers from the Vietnam War; 2) high ranking communist leaders who became dissidents; and 3) push for democracy and reform. Mr. Nguyen would also like to see the U.S. devise an institutional arrangement for foreign aid, and the use of Vietnamese Americans to use their talents to speed up the reconciliation process.

Answers/Responses

Mr. Freeman stated that the State Department has raised the issue of the use of child trafficking with Vietnam. There is currently a Southeast Asian work group that the U.S. participates in, that is focused on trafficking issues. The work group met in Manila last March, and Vietnam indicated interest in working with this group. Mr. Freeman also responded that the rights of Thi Quan Do (sp??) has been raised, and Ambassador Peterson has been working hard on this. Other issues that have been brought to the attention of the U.S. government is the case of writer Hasi Fu (SP??), and the issue of the Hmong as an ethnic minority.

Mr. Christy said that the White House is aware of the problems that Vietnamese Americans might face while traveling in Vietnam, and they are taking this into account when planning the trip. The White House will want to focus on the future through discussion about youths or the Bilateral Trade Agreement, and the President will look for ways to support the reform process in Vietnam.

Questions/Comments

Ngan Nguyen of Oxfam stated that this trip will be an opportunity to open up Vietnam. However, it is important for the President to provide humanitarian assistance for the flood victims in the Mekong Valley. Also, the Agent Orange dialogue only focuses on compensating war veterans, but it is necessary to bring up environmental issues and health implications of



Agent Orange on the affected area. Ms. Nguyen stressed the need to use the legal framework of NGOs in disaster relief efforts.

Canh Viet Le of Le Viet Canh and Vuong Ngoc Quyen Foundation stated that the trip is at a historic turning point, and it will be the first time that there is consensus about humanitarian NGO work as NGO activity is no longer taboo. Mr. Le stated that there are tremendous resources in the private sector because Vietnamese entrepreneurs have achieved financial success, and would like to direct their success to philanthropic work in Vietnam. He stressed that it is important for the President to recognize that NGOs are important in the normalization of US-Vietnam relations.

Tuan Anh Nguyen of the Vietnamese Professional Society stated that there is a lot of fundraising activity in the Vietnamese American community for Vietnam, and that if the money goes to the corrupt Vietnamese government then it does not go to the victims of disaster. He asked that the trade agreement allow service sectors to go in to Vietnam, so that donors can bypass channeling money through the government.

Toa Do of Vietnamese Small Businesses commented that the rights of Vietnamese Americans need to be protected. He has heard that if Vietnamese Americans go to Vietnam, they should not say that they are US citizens but that they are US passport holders. He said that this was unacceptable. Also, Mr. Do said that Vietnamese Americans send billions of dollars to Vietnam every year, and urged that this money should be used for education.

Answers/Responses

Mr. Christy responded that the U.S. has been monitoring the floods in Vietnam, and that last year the U.S. made large official contributions to building flood-resistant housing and other disaster relief efforts. He also stated that environmental issues are also on the White House's radar screen. The U.S. is looking at how to use private partnerships in the US-Vietnam relations, and that the Bilateral Trade Agreement will provide an opportunity to use private funds for technical assistance. He stressed that the rights of all passport holders will be upheld, and that Vietnamese Americans should not be concerned with discrimination while traveling in Vietnam.

Mr. Damond stated that the Bilateral Trade Agreement creates new rights for Americans in Vietnam. The Vietnamese government has asked the U.S. for technical assistance in reforming their economy, and has specifically asked about setting up laws for e-commerce.

Mr. Freeman responded that Agent Orange is constantly raised in the human rights dialogue, and the U.S. has a standing offer to conduct joint research on Agent Orange. He also reported that Amnesty International and the Robert F. Kennedy Foundation may soon have VISAs to travel in Vietnam, and the State Department continues to press the freedom of local NGOs to help in Vietnam.

Questions/Comments

Khoa Xuan Le proposed that the White House kick off the President's visit with a large donation to the Vietnamese flood victims, and stated that the role of the Vietnamese Americans are crucial in responding to Vietnam's needs.



Ngoan Le of the President's Advisory Commission on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders emphasized the historic nature of this trip, as this is the first U.S. President to have a Vietnamese constituency. She urged that Vietnamese Americans should be included in the official delegation as it would be symbolic to the Vietnamese that their government must be as open as the U.S. government. When the President is in Vietnam, he can recognize the Vietnamese Americans by spending as much time in the South as the North. It would be symbolic for the President to lay a wreath in the cemetery of both military cemeteries to recognize that although they have different ideologies, they all fought for their beliefs. Ms. Le also stated that the President should meet with former Communist government officials, who are now considered dissidents, in Vietnam to show that they are being heard even though their issues are outcast. Ms. Le said that this is the first President to see the entire scale of the fall of communism. She suggested that the President use his library to show that he is a President who has reviewed the history of the Cold War, and that the President should announce this as the theme for his library on this trip.

Sereivuth Prak of the Khmer Krom stated that the Khmer Krom, who are affected by the flood, worked with the U.S. special forces in the Vietnam War. He asked that the President push the Vietnamese to respect all human rights, and to help former Vietnamese veterans come to the U.S. Mr. Prak also stated that all Khmer Kroms are oppressed Buddhists, and asked that the U.S. establish a human rights watch in the Mekong River where they reside.

KaYing Yang of the Southeast Asia Resource Action Center stated that there is a large number of Southeast Asians live in the U.S., and that they should be included on this trip. They also should be invited back to debrief with the White House about the trip. Ms. Yang also urged the President to go to Laos and Cambodia because of the war trauma these countries still experience from the Vietnam War.

Mai Cong of the Vietnamese Community of Orange County suggested that the U.S. set up a permanent body to deal with human rights in Vietnam.

Answers/Responses

Ms. Efurd reported that there has not yet been a decision on whether the President will take an official delegation of private citizens. In the past trips, the President has not had delegations, but if there were citizens in the country at the same time as the President then they were invited to the events. Ms. Efurd asked that the public keep in touch with her office around this issue.

Mr. Christy stated that the President's schedule has not yet been set, and the only thing for certain is the dates that the President will be in Brunei for the APEC summit.

Mr. Freeman thanked Mr. Prak for raising the Khmer Krom issue, and said that he will get the information to the U.S. embassy in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City. He also requested to speak with Ms. Cong privately regarding her ideas around the permanent human rights body.

Questions/Comments

Anh-Tuan Le of Manna Consultants stated that the President should put Vietnamese Americans on his trip so Vietnamese Americans can be part of the dialogue in US-Vietnam relations.



Diem Do commented that the Bilateral Trade Agreement will ensure that the trade environment is fair in Vietnam, but that there should be a free exchange of information to open the media industry in Vietnam. He also noted that the U.S. should apply constant pressure on Vietnam to uphold human rights.

Dan Duy Hoang of the Vietnamese American Public Affairs Committee stated that there was a need for the U.S. to push for a transparent environment in Vietnam through the freedom of press.

Duc Hong Duong of the National Alliance of Vietnamese American Service Agencies said that there is a need to close the chapter of the Vietnam War, and look towards the future. Free market is the best way to increase democracy and freedom, and he would like to see the establishment of Asian support for a free market.

Hoang-Ha Le of the Vietnamese Professional Society stated that the President needs to press for the democratization of business.

Hung Nguyen of the League of Vietnamese American Voters commented that the President should interfere so that the money the Vietnamese Americans are giving for flood victims do not go to the corrupt Hanoi government. Also, POW/MIA issues should be a priority before the trade agreement, and trade should be used as a leverage for human rights.

Answers/Responses

Mr. Damond responded that the transparency of the Vietnamese government is part of the Bilateral Trade Agreement, so that laws will be published and Vietnamese citizens will have the right to appeal. This move is a big step for the Vietnamese government, and they will need a lot of technical assistance. Private sectors in Vietnam and foreign companies will benefit from the agreement. Also, Vietnam is beginning to recognize the need for a strong infrastructure in order to have telecommunication and financial success.

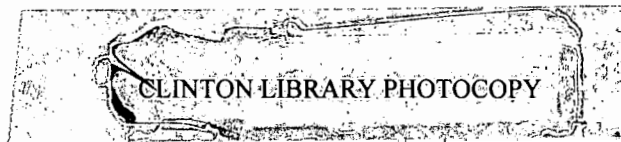
Questions/Comments

Trinh Nguyen of the Vietnamese American Professional Society asked that the President not meet with the Communist Party, and not visit the Ho Chi Minh rape site.

BaoKy Vu of the Vietnamese American Public Affairs Committee noted that in the past, the U.S. has been less willing to use trade to enforce human rights. He asked whether the U.S. will use trade to open up the Vietnamese government. Even if there is a free flowing government, if there is no trust by the Vietnamese government then there is no transparency.

Chau Nguyen of the Vietnamese Buddhist of Hoa Hao Section raised the issue of religious freedom. Large religions are somewhat protected, but there is no help for the indigenous groups (i.e., Gao Dai, Hoa Hao, etc.) He urged the President to help these religions.

Thu Bui stated that Vietnamese still insist on appointing the church bishops, and the government still controls the numbers of priests ordained. Also religious materials cannot be printed in



Vietnam. Mr. Bui wants to be able to ship religious books and materials to Vietnam, and to be able to conduct clergy training there.

De Pham of the Vietnamese Community of New Hampshire stated that it is important to remember that the Vietnamese are under Communist rule, and that there are no basic human rights in Vietnam. He urged the U.S. to pressure the Vietnamese government for the freedom of the Vietnamese people.

Doanh Do of the Dien Hong Foundation stated that free press is key, and that it is good that the U.S. government wants to push for free press in Vietnam.

Y. Hin Nie of Montagnard Advocacy supports the Presidents trip. He asks that the President visit rural areas, as the rural poor have no freedom of immigration, worship or humanitarian rights. Also, even though the Vietnamese are highly educated, he would like the students to be able to travel and study abroad as well.

Van-Lan Tran Truong of the National Congress of Vietnamese in America suggested that the President request a meeting with prisoners of conscience. She urged the President to put pressure on the Hanoi government to respect religious freedom. It is also important for the Vietnamese to carry out the terms of the trade agreement so that: 1) Vietnamese-American business people can carry out business without harassment in Vietnam, 2) there is safety for U.S. tourists, 3) there is free speech and free internet access, 4) separation of church and state, and 5) NGOs can do work in Vietnam without government intervention.

KimOanh Nguyen-Lam of the National Association for Education and Advancement of Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese Americans stated that she hosted a workshop in Hanoi in 1997, and found that there is a large shortage of teachers in Vietnam because of the low pay. She asked if the trade agreement will allow educational assistance in Vietnam?

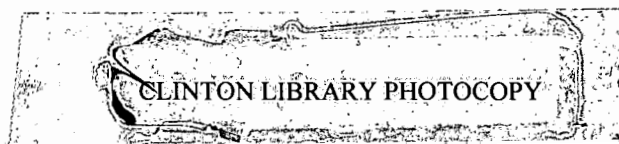
Xuan Vu stressed the need for the President to raise independent labor organization and worker rights while in Vietnam.

Answers/Responses

Mr. Damond responded that the decision was made not to directly link trade and human rights in the Bilateral Trade Agreement, but to use trade as a leverage to make the market economy transparent. This will have implications down the road on human rights. He also reminded participants that Vietnam will have to renew the trade agreement yearly based on their immigration practices, and their compliance with the trade rules.

Closing

Ms. Efurd wrapped up the briefing by urging participants to keep in contact with her, as the Office of Public Liaison will be the main point of contact for Vietnamese Americans for this trip to Vietnam. She also stated that if participants had any more recommendations about the trip or about the delegation, please fax the information to the Office of Public Liaison.



Vietnam Briefing for the Veteran Community
October 10, 2000
3:00-4:00 PM, Roosevelt Room

Opening Remarks

Christine Stanek of the Office of Public Liaison welcomed participants to the meeting, and asked everyone to introduce themselves. Ms. Stanek also introduced the speakers who would be addressing the participants.

Gene Christy of the National Security Council welcomed the participants, and stated that the President's visit to Vietnam is historic and sets the stage for US-Vietnamese relations. The White House and the Vietnamese government want to look forward to the future, so there will be lots of focus on the Bilateral Trade Agreement. The President will emphasize the importance of the Vietnamese joining ASEAN, and encourage their activity in APEC. Mr. Christy stated that it would not be possible for the President to do this trip without the cooperation of the Vietnamese on the POW/MIA issue, and the President will look for opportunities to underscore the importance of human rights and religious freedom in Vietnam.

Bob Jones of the Department of Defense POW/MIA Office stated that his office has been involved in the planning of the trip early on to see how POW/MIA issues will impact the President's trip to Vietnam, and it has been an integral part of the trip planning. If the President's schedule permits, Mr. Jones would like to see the President to participate in two activities: 1) event at a joint excavation site, and 2) cremation of American remains and repatriation to the U.S. Mr. Jones has sent suggested language for the President to use in his talking points to emphasize the priority of the POW/MIA issues in the US-Vietnam relations. The bottom line is that there are still many American soldiers missing in Vietnam, and the Vietnamese are seeking greater unilateral activities to help the U.S. recover the bodies.

Question and Answer

Bob Wallace of the VFW said that it was rumored that corporations will accompany the President to Vietnam, and he wanted to know whether the President would also take veterans. Ms. Stanek stated that there has been no decision to take anyone on the trip, as the President does not usually take a private delegation. Instead, if U.S. citizens are in Vietnam at the same time as the President the White House makes every effort to include them in the President's activities. Mr. Christy pointed out that the President will go to Brunei for the APEC conference before going to Vietnam, so if he takes a delegation that goes only to Vietnam it will be a logistics problem.

Bob Wallace of the VFW stressed that it would be a public affairs nightmare if the President only took business to Vietnam, and didn't include veterans. Ms. Stanek responded that if the President does take a delegation, it will be well-rounded.



Bruce Harder of VFW said if the POW/MIA issue is the most important, will the President reinforce that point? He stated that news has been reporting that the most important issue is economic relations with Vietnam. Mr. Christy said that the POW/MIA issue has been a #1 priority to the people planning the trip. Randy Beardsworth of the National Security Council stated that it is recognized top-down that the whole relationship with Vietnam is based on the POW/MIA issue. Mr. Jones stressed that his office has been involved in the beginning of planning of the trip.

George Duggins of the Vietnam Veterans of America said that it was important for the President to reinforce POW/MIA issues when in Vietnam. He asked whether Agent Orange or other issues that have plagued vets will be raised? Mr. Christy responded that although some initiatives are on the table it is tied to sharing of information from the Vietnamese government. These initiatives may come out as a result of the trip, but because the planning is still in the early stages it is hard to tell.

General Gordon Sullivan of the Association of U.S. Army commented that the President acknowledging the POW/MIA issue is important, but the general consensus is in terms of the US-Vietnam relations, "let's get on with it" as long as the POW/MIA issue is on the forefront.

Marshall Hanson of the Naval Reserve Association said that although much of the trip will probably focus on Hanoi, it would be good for the President to visit South Vietnam (i.e., Saigon/Ho Chi Minh City) to talk about economic opportunity and reflect back on America's promises made over 25 years ago. Mr. Duggins of the Vietnam Veterans of American wondered if it would send the wrong message to Vietnamese Americans if the President were to go to Saigon. Mr. Christy responded that the schedule has not yet been set, but on foreign trips the President generally goes to the capital. Ho Chi Minh City is definitely dynamic for economic opportunity, and it would be a natural place for the President to talk about the future with youths. He also suggested that since a majority of the Vietnamese were born after the war, the war may not be as heated of an issue.

Mr. Harder of the VFW commented that there is a difference in what the President will see in Hanoi versus Ho Chi Minh City. Ho Chi Minh City has signs of capitalism, but it also has an increase in crime.

David Autry of DAV stated that a lot of veterans are protesting the President going to Vietnam, and that it would reaffirm their concerns if he would address the POW/MIA issue.

Mr. Harder of the VFW reported that some internet articles have spread the rumor that the President would be traveling on a navy ship, and that the U.S. ensign flag would be lowered. The various organizations in the room agreed that they have stopped this rumor, and that it is now a non-issue. Mr. Christy urged that if organizations have heard rumors about the trip, and it sounds strange, please let the White House know.

Anne Mills Griffith of the National League of POW/MIA Families stated that it would have been helpful if the President's announcement about the trip had at least mentioned POW/MIA issues,



but the White House press release only talked about trade relations. Brooke Anderson of the National Security Council responded that the press briefing did include mention of POW/MIA issues, even though the press release did not.

Both Mr. Sullivan of the Association of U.S. Army, and Ms. Griffith of the National League of POW/MIA Families echoed that it would be good for the President to visit South Vietnam. Mr. Christy asked whether there were any specific places in old South Vietnam that would send a wrong message if the President were to visit. Ms. Griffith responded that Cu Chi (sp??) Temple would send the wrong message if the President were to go.

Mr. Hanson of the Naval Reserve Association stated that the President' participation of a joint evacuation site depending on how the scene is framed might evoke passions. Because there is still memory of the President's anti-war activities, being an active participant at the excavation site may inflame the veteran community's passions. He suggested that the President should take an individual that veterans identify with where the veterans gets his hands in the dirt, and the President makes a policy statement. Ms. Griffith of the National League of POW/MIA Families responded that although the President does have "baggage" that he brings on the trip, he is still the Commander in Chief and that it might be strange if the President does not do something at an excavation site. It is much more important for the President to discuss humanitarian issues.

Brooks Corley of the Marine Corps League commented that it is time to put the past behind, and to go to Vietnam to do what needs to be done.

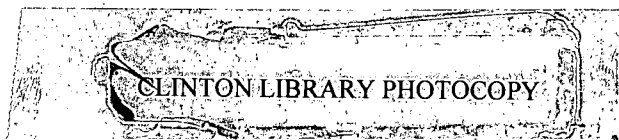
Mr. Harder stated that if the President does go to South Vietnam, it would have the greatest meaning if he were to go to Ho Chi Minh City for the veterans. It will also be much better received to go to what is the former Republic of Vietnam.

Mr. Jones asked participants whether the President should tour the Hanoi Hilton. Ms. Griffith of the National League of POW/MIA Families said that going to the Hanoi Hilton may be a risky move. Mr. Corley of the Marine Corps League agreed saying that going to the Hanoi Hilton will look like a media production. The President should go to Vietnam as a statesman, and not as a showman.

Mr. Harder commented that there is a JFA ????, and the President does not go to the JFA then the public will be mad.

Mr. Duggins of the Vietnam Veterans of America asked whether the President will be meeting with the Vietnamese counterpart for POW/MIA offices. Mr. Jones assured that the President would be meeting with someone similar to his counterpart, and higher up.

Ms. Griffith of the National League of POW/MIA Families asked which Federal agencies would be going on the trip. Mr. Christy responded that this has not been set. He also added that the precise date of the trip has not been set, but the President would be going following the APEC conference in Brunei.



Closing

Ms. Efurd wrapped up the briefing by urging participants to keep in contact with Christine Stanek, as the Office of Public Liaison will be the main point of contact for the veterans for this trip to Vietnam.

Note: After the conclusion of the meeting, it was mentioned that all facilities the President visits in Vietnam should be wheelchair accessible.

Vietnam Briefing for Business Community
October 4, 2000
2:00-3:00 PM, Indian Treaty Room

Opening Remarks

Laura Efurd, Deputy Director of the Office of Public Liaison welcomed the participants to the briefing. She stated that the purpose of the briefing was not only to plan the trip to Vietnam, but to get their input about the trip. Ms. Efurd also introduced the speakers who would be addressing the participants.

Gene Christy of National Security Council welcomed the participants, and stated that the President's visit to Vietnam is historic. The White House and the Vietnamese government want to look forward to the future, so there will be lots of focus on the Bilateral Trade Agreement signed on July 13. The White House will also want to acknowledge the role of the Vietnamese government since it joined ASEAN, and the President will explore with the Vietnamese increasing their participation in APEC.

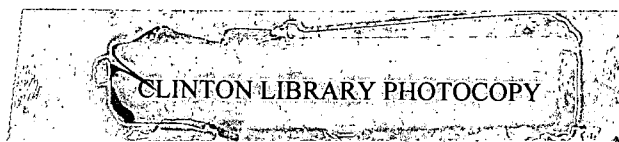
Ambassador Richard Fisher stated that the President's trip to Vietnam is powerfully symbolic and transforms U.S.-Vietnam relationship into a trade partnership. This partnership will make Vietnam more open to the world economy, and has tremendous potential for the U.S. Ambassador Fisher emphasized that this is the beginning of the planning phase for the trip to Vietnam, and the White House welcomes the business community's feedback. Ambassador Fisher then took questions.

Question and Answer

Myron Brilliant of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce assumed that the White House is beginning a dialogue with Congress around the trip. He stated that he is eager to see Congress move forward on USTR and have Vietnam fulfill obligations to ensure faithful implementation of the Bilateral Trade Agreement. He reported that he had a meeting with Ambassador Larson, and he suggests that it would be good for the White House to compile a list of U.S. companies and projects in Vietnam so that they are aware of US economic involvement in Vietnam. Ambassador Fisher responded that he has pushed for the President to visit Vietnam quickly after Bilateral Trade Agreement, and will take his suggestion into account.

Meredith Miller of the U.S.-Vietnam Trade Council reported that she is trying to compile a list of American projects and business in Vietnam, and asked guests to contact her if they have not already done so.

Frances Zwenig of the U.S.-Asian Business Council stated that she will be organizing a business mission to Vietnam with the Business Council. The purpose is to have D.C. representatives understand business issues in Vietnam by doing site visits. She has already spoken with MPI (Ministry of the Vietnamese Government?), and will also work with Secretary Mineta. Fourteen companies have already signed up for this trip, so she urged the White House to let them know about the itinerary as soon as possible. They are planning to be in Ho Chi Minh City at the same



time as the President, and would like to do an event with him while he is there. Ambassador Fisher responded that the U.S. government doesn't have all the money to provide the technical assistance needed in Vietnam, and that the U.S. government will need to form private-public partnerships in order to foster technical assistance in Southeast Asia.

Brad Figel of NIKE asked whether the President will raise human rights and labor issues in Vietnam. Ambassador Fisher responded that it was too early to give specifics on what will be discussed during the trip. Mr. Christy did add that the president raises issues of human rights and religious freedom wherever he goes.

Laura Hudson of Unocal asked whether the President will take a Congressional delegation? If so, the business would like the opportunity to brief their representatives on what trade relations with Vietnam mean for the people in their state from a job standpoint. Mr. Christy reported that several members of Congress have indicated their interest in going on the trip, but no decision has been made whether the President will be taking a Congressional delegation.

Christopher Padilla with Eastman Kodak asked whether the White House was looking for examples to demonstrate U.S. economic opportunity in Vietnam. Ambassador Fisher responded that any examples could be given to Joe Damond.

Brad Figel of Nike asked whether the President is interested in seeing facilities in Vietnam that U.S. companies operate. Ambassador Fisher stated that nothing has been set for this trip.

Andrew Durant of Samuels International stated that it was good for the President to go to Vietnam, as it will build up the constituency for Bilateral Trade Agreement.

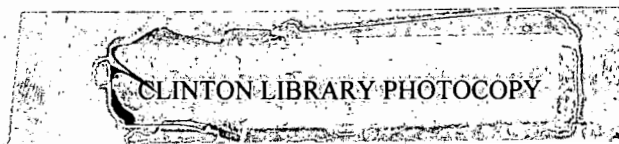
Edward Hogan of the Unysis Corporation asked whether there are international competitors in Vietnam. Ambassador Fisher responded that the U.S. is the 5th or 6th largest investor in Vietnam. China, Taiwan and Japan are competitive pressures, but this shouldn't discount that Vietnam is an untapped market. Mr. Christy added that Vietnam is excited about relations with U.S., so this is an opportune time for the President to go to Vietnam.

Richard Brecher of Motorola asked what the Vietnamese government was indicating was the main themes for the President's visit. Ambassador Fisher responded that Vietnamese have not suggested any themes, but that they are happy about the direction of the relationship.

Raymond Sander of New York Life International stated that they hosted the President of Vietnam when he was in New York City. Mr. Sander wants to make sure that business is involved in the President's trip.

Andre Sauvageot of GE International Inc. in Vietnam reported that the Vietnamese are very happy with the Bilateral Trade Agreement, and that this is part of a long-standing relationship of foreign trade.

Brad Figel of Nike asked whether the President will take leaders of organized labor with him to Vietnam. Ambassador Fisher responded that no decision has been made on this.



Orit Frankel, GE International, Inc. in Washington D.C. asked about the textile agreement. Ambassador Fisher responded that the U.S. has just begun the dialogue, and that Vietnam will need lots of technical assistance, such as with customs. The U.S. will proceed cautiously, but the issue is not keeping textiles out of the market but how to proceed productively.

Closing

Ms. Efurd wrapped up the briefing by urging participants to keep in contact with Eric Schwerin, as the Office of Public Liaison will be the main point of contact for the public for this trip to Vietnam. She ended by saying that it was possible that this trip will be similar to India, where the President will not take a delegation but the private citizens will go on their own and attend the various events.